THE SERVIAN PEOPLE

Proclamation of Stephan Dushan as "Emperor of the Serbs and Romans" at Skoplyia (Uskub) on April 16, 1346 (Easter Sunday)
The Emperor, the Empress, and their son, the young King, stand between the two Patriarchs of Servia and of Bulgaria

THE SERVIAN PEOPLE

THEIR PAST GLORY AND THEIR DESTINY

BY

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WITH THE COLLABORATION OF

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(ELEANOR CALHOUN)

ILLUSTRATED

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TO

OUR DEAR BOYS
STEPHAN-DOUSHAN AND STEPHAN-LAZAR
AND OUR DEAR GIRL MARA

16037

PREFACE

Events in the Near East, which have brought the Servian people prominently to the attention of the world, and the trusteeship laid upon them by destiny as guardians of the chief strategic position in the Balkan Peninsula and keepers of the great gateway between Europe and the Orient, make it desirable to set forth more fully than has hitherto been done in the English language some account of their place among peoples, considered in regard to their physical characteristics, their manner of life, their ideas, customs, beliefs, traditions, and ambitions, their culture, their songs, their battles, the interesting geographical situation of their country, and their relation politically to the other nations of Europe.

An opinion can be formed regarding the future actions and general worth to human society of a man or a nation by his or its past conduct and achievements, and so the only fair basis of judgment concerning the Servian people must rest upon some knowledge of their past actions and the institutions in which during the centuries they have embodied their ideals and their will.

Such curtailed survey of the subject as can be included within the scope of the present endeavour will at least provide the casual reader with some notion of Servian personality and character, and

suggest sources of ampler information concerning the institutions of Christian culture and civilisation evolved by the Serbs and brought to a high state of excellence in the Middle Ages and which were swept from existence by the Turkish conquest.

The study of past events and moral movements, of conditions among peoples in earlier ages, and of their national conceptions, is valuable chiefly because of its power to illumine the life of the present, either by revealing to us the true nature of forces which we see at work in our own time, or by suggesting racial or national potentialities, which like unworked gold in ancient forgotten mines—mines levelled over and blurred from sight, it may be, by devastating conquest or some other fatal cataclysm centuries ago—have brought all their richness of treasure down to our own times to be relocated, examined, and developed with the advantages of all modern resources of scientific method and accumulated experience.

Co-operation and respect for the rights of the individual were the basis of the Servian social structure from earliest times. The jury was an ancient Servian institution before its general use in Europe. All Serbs were entitled to fair trial in public courts. The sovereign himself was never above the law and could be sued in those courts of justice by the humblest of his subjects. Slavery was never practised by the Serbs, but was denounced by Servian rulers.

These and other Servian conceptions of human rights heralded in early mediæval times ideals of justice and brotherhood which form the aim of modern Western enlightenment.

There rises to mind the image of Elena, Queen of Italy, of unmixed Servian blood, a woman lovely and gracious among all women, and a queen noble among all queens at a time when pure and high-souled womanhood is nowhere more exemplified than in the ladies who first among their peers at present grace the thrones of Europe. Those who have lived in Serb lands like Miss Durham, and know about them, would recall many a stately child of the Servian hills much resembling Queen Elena in character and type and womanly ways, though, unlike Her Majesty of Italy, not having the training of the proudest of Imperial Courts, and knowing only the nurture of the simple Servian home-hearth.

This book is based on the results of profound and extensive researches made by Servian historians and scholars, and upon the study of historical and State documents.

In Part I of the book use has been made principally of the ethnographical works and other writings of the late Professors V. Karich and M. Militchevich.

For Part III—Chapters V and VI—in addition to the large mass of documents and writings consulted, among which were the earlier works on the subject of Stoyan Novakovich and Panta Sretchkovich, particular note has been taken of the studies and conclusions of Dr. M. Vlainatz. The chief authorities consulted for Chapters VII and VIII were Stoyan Novakovich, Vouk Stephanovich Karadjich, the Memoirs of Nenadovich, Hammer's History of the Ottoman Empire, and the writings of Mouradja d'Ohson.

Among the many sources of Part IV were the writings of Professor F. Ratchki, Iovan Tomich, M. Grbich, Klayich, Kovatchevich, Yakshich, Stoyan Novakovich, Panta Sretchkovich M. Gavrilovich, V. Georgevich, S. Yovanovich. The authors have been especially fortunate in being able to consult the new and much-praised work of Professor S. Stanoyevich, entitled "Istoriya Srpskoga Naroda," published at Belgrade in 1908. They are also indebted to Professor G. Stanoyevich for permission to use in illustration of the book photographs made by him for the Belgrade Museum.

The authors are deeply conscious that their work cannot hope to be free from flaws or adequate to its subject. They would beg indulgence for the roughness of the new ground they have broken.

New York, *June* 15, 1910.

CONTENTS

Volume I

PART I—THE SERVIAN RACE

CHAPTER PAGE

I. The Servian Race 3

1. Physical Characteristics 7
The Physical Conditions of Life—Clothing—Houses.

2. Moral Characteristics and Religion 14

3. Language 31

4. Family Life—Clans—Communities—Zadrugas, etc. 39

5. Relations Between Men and Women—The Place of the Women in Family and National Life 50

6. Customs — Family Festivals — Christmas — Easter Traditions — Ceremonies, etc. . . . 55
Marriage—Death and Burial—Pobratimstvo (Brotherhood) and Posestrinstvo (Sisterhood)—Fire—Prelo and Selo — Christmas and Easter — Music, Song, Dance.

PART II—SERVIAN LANDS TO-DAY

CHAPTER PAGE

II. Geographical Features 93

1. River Systems 95

2. Mountain Systems, Their Flora and Their Fauna 99
The Carst Ranges—The Dinaric System—The Albanian Ranges—The Shumadia Mountains—Carpathians, Balkans, and the Rhodope System.

CHAPTER PAGE

III. Independent Servian Lands 108

1. The Kingdom of Servia (Srbiya) 108

Population—Constitution and Government—Administration — Religion — Education — Justice, Crime, Pauperism — Matrimony — The Army — Fortifications — Finance — State Budget — Public Debt — Money—Products and Industries: *Cereals; Vegetables; Fruit; Cattle and Other Domestic Animals; Poultry; Hunting and Fishing; Forestry; Minerals and Ore; Industries; Modern Manufactures*—Commerce; Lines of Communication.

2. The Principality of Montenegro (Tsrnagora) 131

Administration and Social Organisation—Constitution —Religion—Education—Justice, Crime, Pauperism —Finance—Budget—Money—The Army: *Organisation; Command and Officers; Mobilisation; Instruction; Spirit and Discipline*—Products and Industries —Commerce—Lines of Communication.

IV. Servian Lands Under Foreign Domination . 142

1. Bosnia and Herzegovina (under Austria-Hungary) 142

Population — Administration — Finance — The Army —Religion—Education—Justice, Crime, Pauperism —Products and Industries: *Mining; Industries*— Lines of Communication—Commerce.

2. Dalmatia (under Austria) 153

Population—Administration—The Army—Religion— Education—Products and Industries.

3. Croatia-Slavonia (under Hungary) 158

Population—Administration and Political Reorganisation—Budget—Credit—Justice—The Army—Religion — Education — Products and Industries — Commerce—Lines of Communication.

4. Banat and Batchka (under Hungary) . . . 167

Administration—Products.

PAGE

5. Old Servia, Stara Srbiya (under Turkey-in-Europe) 170
Administration—Education—Products—Lines of Communication — Architecture and Monuments.

Serb Population Estimated for December, 1909. 174

PART III—CIVILISATION AND CULTURE FROM EARLY TIMES UP TO THE PRESENT

CHAPTER PAGE

V. Social Organisation and Conditions Prior to about 1100 177

1. Direct Subjects of Byzance 182
The Coloni liberi—The Coloni censibus adscripticii—The "Latifundia"—The Leges rusticæ.

2. Serbs of the Great Migration never under Byzantine Direct Rule—Early Servian States 189
Evolution of State up to the Twelfth Century—Interior Organisation—Zhupa.

VI. Social Organisation from about 1100 to about 1470 (Servian Kingdoms and Empire) 197

1. Constitution and Organisation of the Servian State 197
States Assembly.

2. State and Crown Revenues 201

3. Administrative Divisions with Local Self-Government and the Family as a Social Unit . . 204
The Zhupa (County) — The "Grad" (Town) — Selo (Village or Rural Community)—House (Koutcha).

4. The Sovereign and the Court 215

5. Social Conditions in General 219

6. The Nobility 221
Property: *Bashtina; Pronya.*

7. The Clergy and the Church 231
Obligations and Duties.

CHAPTER PAGE

8. Sebar or Commoner 236

Gradjani—Zemlyani—"Serbs" and "Vlachs"—"Slobodnyi Lyudi": *Parish Priest; The Widow ("The Poor Spinner")*—The Merops or Kmets: *Legal Characteristics of the Merop Tenure; Bashtina Rights of Merops; Obligations of the Zemlyanin-Merop Toward the Domain; Church Tenants; The Conditions of Robot and Dues of the Zemlyani Living on Domains Belonging to the State, the Sovereign, or Private Individuals*—Vlachs: *Labour and Other Dues of Vlachs.*

9. Otroks 264

Anti-Slavery.

10. The Administration of Justice 268

Equality Before the Law and Rights of the Individual—Procedure—The Constitution of Juries—Ecclesiastical Courts—Private Law—Criminal and Penal Law—Responsibility and Restitution—Justice for Foreigners.

11. The Army 287

12. Resources, Commerce, and Industries . . . 292

Agriculture — Forests — Hunting — Mining — Commerce and Industry—Trade-Routes—Money.

VII. The Servians Under Turkish Rule from about 1470 to about 1800 301

1. The Turkish Army of Conquest 304

2. Methods of Administration 307

Remains of Servian Self-Government.

3. Turkish Forms of Holdings in Appropriation of Servian Lands 314

4. Taxes and Other Exactions 315

5. Christian Clergy 323

6. Characteristics of the "Berat Bashi-Knezes" and Their Territories 327

7. Haydouks and Ouskoks 329

8. Downfall of the Janissaries—Servian Independence 332

CHAPTER PAGE

VIII. The Last Hundred Years 335

1. Turkish Attempts at Reform 335

2. Bosnia-Herzegovina an Austrian Province . . 337

3. Sovereign Principality of Montenegro . . . 338

4. Independent Principality—Modern Kingdom of Servia 339

IX. Religion and Education 340

1. Erection of the Independent National Servian Orthodox Church 345

2. Bogomil Faith 350

3. Erection of the Servian Orthodox Patriarchat 355

4. Absorption of the Servian Patriarchat by the Greek Patriarch. Servian Church under Constantinople 359

5. Re-establishment of Independent Servian Churches 362

Servian Church—Montenegrin Church—Servian Church in Bosnia—Bulgarian Exarchat—New Servian Archbishopric in Turkey — Servian Church in Austria-Hungary.

6. Education 365

X. Literature, the Fine Arts, Music, and the Drama 368

1. The Old Servian Literature 370

2. The Dalmatian Period 374

3. The Literature of the "Kaykavci" 377

4. Modern Servian and New Serbo-Croat Literature 378

Modern Servian Literature—New Serbo-Croat Literature.

PAGE

5. The Servian and Croat Popular Epic and Lyric Poetry 395

6. The Fine Arts 405
Architecture—Sculpture—Painting.

7. Music and the Drama 409
Drama.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Volume I

PROCLAMATION OF STEPHEN DUSHAN AS "EMPEROR OF THE SERBS AND ROMANS" AT SKOPLYIA (USKUB) ON APRIL 16, 1346 (EASTER SUNDAY) . . . . *Frontispiece*

FACING PAGE

TYPE OF A FARMER'S LIVING HOUSE 42

DEFILE OF GORNYATCH 96

H. M. KING PETER I OF SERVIA 108

H. R. H. PRINCE NICHOLAS I OF MONTENEGRO 132

RUINS OF THE CASTLE AT UZHITZA 180

RUINS OF THE CASTLE OF GOLOOBATZ, FIFTEENTH CENTURY 252

VIEW OF BELGRADE FROM THE RAILWAY BRIDGE . . . 336

STOYAN NOVAKOVICH 378

MAPS

FACING PAGE

Distribution of the different branches of the Slavonic Race in Europe 32

Map showing the Serb-inhabited Block of Territory 168

PART I

THE SERVIAN RACE

THE SERVIAN PEOPLE

THEIR PAST GLORY AND THEIR DESTINY

CHAPTER I

THE SERVIAN RACE

"For this cause, I bow my knees to the Father from whom every family (or fatherhood) in Heaven or Earth is named."

(Eph. 4:14.)

THE Servians are Slavs, speaking a Slavonic language derived, as are the Russian, Polish, Tcheque, Bulgarian, Slovene, and Slovak, from one common mother tongue. They and their forefathers have lived in the lands they now inhabit from the earliest antiquity.

The *Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie* and other publications have recorded the results recently arrived at by a careful series of archæological, anthropological, and linguistic researches made by various scientific men, in the regions of the Balkans and other parts of the Orient, as to the origin of the Slav race. The reports of the last four or five years of the results of the labors of Mr. Zaborowski and others form an overwhelming mass of evidence and demonstrate the following facts:

From prehistoric ages Central Europe, from the Baltic to the shores of the Adriatic and to the Black

Sea, together with parts of northern Asia Minor, was inhabited by a race which incinerated its dead—enclosing the charred skeleton and skull in funerary urns which bear inscriptions in a single language and contain objects of a more or less uniform character. From these charred bones and these objects we see that this race was mainly brachycephalous, and the material and fashion of the ornaments and objects indicate clearly the age to which they belong, whether Stone, Bronze, or Iron. This race was mentioned historically by Homer, cited by Strabo, as Hened-Paphlagonians, and referred to by succeeding ancient writers, Herodotus, Polybius, Tacitus, Strabo, etc., who all called them Veneds, Venets, Windis, Wendes, Vendes.

The archæological evidence drawn chiefly from the cinerary urns with their inscriptions and contents has established that the Veneds were a Slav race, and the ancestors of the Slavonic peoples which to-day inhabit the same lands in Central and Eastern Europe and the Balkans. The Illyrians, Gaetians, Dacians, and other peoples of antiquity inhabiting the Danube and Adriatic regions were of this ancient Slav stock.

Through all the Vened migratory lands populated by the Vened-Slavs the cinerary vases are similar, generally gray or red baked clay partly or entirely stained with brilliant black or gray-black. In each, sealed with its cover, is the débris of the charred bones of one individual, put in often with sand, in which lie ornaments, beads, pins, fibulas, rings, chains. The beads are generally of blue glass, amber, bone, or clay; pins, buckles, and other ornaments are of bronze, and iron is sparsely introduced in some. The blue glass

beads, even in lands which could not produce them, are the same as those found in Bosnia, land of the Illyrians, and on the shores of the Baltic Sea. These urns sometimes bore modelled a human face and were richly decorated, even with gems. The lids represented hats and modes of head-gear similar in style to that worn to-day in those regions by Slav races.

The archæological remains show that early migrations occurred from the Adriatic and Danubian regions eastward and that some of the tribes settled along the Vistula and Dnieper.

These facts give confirmation to traditions recorded by the Russian historian Nestor in the beginning of the twelfth century.

The whole Vened-Slav people lived in tribal groups more or less loosely bound together by common race and language. Their mode of government was universally, from earliest ages, by popular assembly. The desire for conquest or tyrannical mastery or exploitation of other nations was singularly absent from the Slav peoples. Their courage in defending their own reached the point of heroism, but their fundamental aim lay in the peaceful pursuit of agricultural occupations, home-making, and the getting of a contented livelihood from mother earth.

Among the descendants of the tribes which had gone to the Vistula from the Adriatic were several which found it necessary to group themselves together for common protection, and this making and gradual strengthening of some bonds of union developed in time a sense of national conscience. It is supposed

that the name Serbs or Srbs, by which this group came to be known, was derived from the word Sabor or Sbor, the Slav word for General Assembly found to-day in the Russian "Sabor," the Bulgarian "Sobranyia," the Servian and Croat "Sabor."

The Serbo-Slovenes occupied the territories between the Carpathians and the Baltic Sea, the river Elbe and the Vistula. The chief tribes were: the Lyutizi, Bodritzi (Obotrits), Havelani, Miltchani, Lusatians, Serbi, Hrvati (Karpati), Humlani, Neretlani, etc.

In 640 the Byzantin emperor Heracleus invited the Serbs, who then occupied the northern slopes of the Carpathians, to aid in driving out the Avars, who had invaded the regions forming to-day modern Servian territories. So the Serb race came again into the lands of its fathers, to send new roots down among the old ones into that ancient soil which, unconsciously to them, held in the sealed funerary urns of its far-away ancestors the message that to them had God given that earth from the first days of its allotment to the sons of men.

These lands populated by the Serb race are to-day the block of territories comprising: the kingdom of Servia, the principality of Montenegro, the vilayet of Kossovo, parts of the vilayets of Monastir and Scutary (Skodra) in Macedonia (European Turkey), Bosnia and Hertzegovina, Dalmatia, Istria, Croatia, Slavonia, Banat, and Batchka, in Austria-Hungary.

The total number of the Servian race is between ten and eleven millions.

1. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

The skull of the Servian is generally brachycephalous, the original Slavonic type, in some instances modified by a blending with the dolichocephalous character, which results in a head generally round and short, sometimes long, with a round or oval face, very rarely long and narrow. The face is apt to be broad and bony; the hair is light or dark brown, sometimes black or blond; the eyes, even with dark or black hair, are generally gray, the true Slavonic eye. The complexion is mediumly fair, rarely tawny or swarthy. The brows are straight; the nose, though generally straight, is sometimes aquiline. The base of the nose between the eyes is often rather low than high. In the main, the features are classical and sometimes beautiful.

The Serb is tall, surpassing in height all other races of the Balkans except the northern Albanians or "Gaegas," who are also from Serb stock (speaking a language with Slavonic roots). The average stature of the western and southern Servian is six feet. In the eastern and northern regions the average height is five feet, six inches.

The frame is brawny, sinewy, and strong, capable of great endurance, and the individuals, both men and women, are well endowed with health and often beauty of a classical type.

The Physical Conditions of Life.—The territories inhabited by the Serb race are mountainous in character, formed by the meeting and transecting of the extensions of the great mountain systems of the Alps

(Dinaric Alps), Carpathians, Albanian Mountains, Balkans, and the Rhodope Mountains. The Servian mass is cut by the valley of the Morava River from the Danube to the plain of Nish. There is the junction of the two great natural Balkan roads, one from Nish over Pirot and Sofia in the valley of the river Maritza straight to Constantinople. That highway was the old road of the Crusaders, and for a thousand years the landway of all communication between Europe and the East. The second road also crosses the plain of Nish, follows the valley of the Morava River along the Kossovo valley through the low, marshy watershed of Preshevo where rise the Morava and Vardar Rivers, and thence lies through the valley of the Vardar River on down to the Ægean Sea at Salonika.

This old two-pronged road of the Crusaders, which is still the road of railways and of commerce from the Danube to Constantinople, on the one hand, and to Salonika on the other, makes of Servia, to-day as ever, the great gateway by land from Europe to the Orient. The climate is continental in the eastern regions, Mediterranean in the west, which gives a favourable climate for the growing of all kinds of foodstuffs, grains, maize (the staple breadstuff), all kinds of fruits, especially prunes, with apples, cherries, apricots, quinces, walnuts, and grapevines on all slopes, figs and almonds in the south-west, with melons and vegetables, and everywhere a rich mast of acorns in the extensive oak forests.

The popular food includes fruits and vegetables—beans, maize, rice, cabbage, onions, leeks, red pep-

pers, etc. The meat food is chiefly pork, mutton, and also goat in some districts, beef both fresh and home-cured. Sour milk and fresh cheese, with young onions, and in season green corn boiled and eaten "off the cob," form a staple food. Every small house has its chicken for the pot and its turkeys, as well as its suckling pig for Christmas.

The meat foods are consumed mostly in the winter and snowy seasons. In the villages the ancient methods of roasting meats are still found, where the pigs or lambs or game or fowl are roasted in the earth or enveloped in clay, the process recalling the Mexican "barbecue."

The great national beverage is spring water; what liquors they use are home-made wine and plum brandy, "slivovitza"; and in districts where bees are kept they still make "mead," called "medovina." With the modernizing of certain towns comes the German beer.

Clothing.—Even to-day throughout the countries and remote districts the greater part of the clothing is home-made, home-spun, and home-grown.

The clothing, especially among women, follows in general the character and style indicated in the decoration of some of the antique Slav-Vened cinerary vases and certain small statuettes and figure-vases of the same early period.

The basis seems to be the tabard, stole, or straight-fronted apron, often richly embroidered, always in transversal lines or bars, with threads of gold, silver, black, and red, and other colors. These long, narrow aprons are, for ordinary use, often woven heavily of

fine, many-colored wool either in the Kelim carpet-stitch or the tapestry point similar to that used in "Beauvais." The main gown is white, of home-woven linen, with embroidered border on skirt, and flowing sleeves. For workaday wear a coloured skirt of woollen weave is much used, over the white one, and tucked up on one side to disclose the finer one beneath; a sleeveless vest, of velvet or silk or fine cloth often richly embroidered with gold and shutting with embroidered gold buttons encrusted with coral; and over these garments is worn either a short coat, a kind of zouave, with sleeves, or a long coat cut in long lines to follow the body and slightly flaring toward the bottom. Either of these coats is made of white stiff felt black-embroidered, white sheepskin with the short, curled fleece inside and the outside cured soft and left white and embroidered in bands near the woolly edges with black wool, or of richest Venetian silk velvet, generally some bright shade of crimson embroidered with gold. On the head is worn a small cap with black rim and red top, embroidered in gold, with a rose, and on festival days strings of gold or silver coins are hung upon this cap or on the hair. The jewels, of antique and often beautiful design, include heavy buckles and richly wrought belts of silver or brass studded with cabochons of glass, or gems, corals, or other metals. At the recent Servian exhibition at Earls Court, London, there were seen great quantities of these gorgeous ornaments, some of which were bought for the Metropolitan Museum, New York. In the exhibition were also many beautiful objects and accessories to the toilet, wrought

in finest silver filigree, so exquisite in design and of such fragile and delicate appearance that it suggested more the work of frost than of human fingers. Among hand-woven materials for feminine apparel were sheer silken textures of snowy white, sometimes gold-flecked, or wrought with beautiful border patterns of antique design where gold or silver threads ran with faint traceries of crimson and black.

The foot-gear for men and women alike, the "opanka," worn over heavy wool stockings, is the leather sandal of antiquity with thongs and straps across the ankles. In heavy winter weather there are worn inside of the sandal, and held strapped with the thongs, soft leather boots or stockings made sometimes of sheepskin with the woolly surface next the skin.

The women wear a small knife or dagger, a custom left over from Turkish times.

In districts like Montenegro and some of the higher mountains, the men still carry, in a heavy leather belt, a pistol or two besides the knife, and in some cases the old yatagan, or "hanjar."

A curious feature of the costume of the men, which has been noticed by archæologists, is the pantaloon or trousers, a garment which in some form has been worn by the Slav races, as shown by sculptural remains, from remote epochs. It has been remarked that other races in lands where the Slav peoples have lived have adopted from them this Slavonic fashion. The basis of the Servian countryman's costume is either the narrow, long trousers or wider breeches to

the knees, with some fashion of legging, a blouse or shirt, a short, sleeveless waistcoat of crimson or black richly embroidered in gold or silk, and over this short waistcoat, another short, long-sleeved cloth coat or jacket, and in cold weather a long and ample coat, of either sheepskin worn with fur side in, or a coat of heavy felt or cloth fur-lined. The material of the men's coat and trousers is thick homespun, of dark gray, brown, or natural white, similar in texture to the heaviest hand-woven frieze produced by the Scottish and Irish cottage industries. On the head is worn either a small cap of silk and cloth or a "kalpak" of fur. In some districts the men wear a skull-cap of red or white fitting down tight over the top of the head.

In many districts, where the houses are still built according to the old customs which accompanied the "Zadruga" and its kindred form of social organization, the ruling characteristic of the structure is a large hearth in the centre of the big main room, which serves as living-room and kitchen combined, where logs of wood are used as fuel, the smoke being gathered together by an ample funnel-shaped contrivance high above the fire, and finally escaping through the chimney on the roof. In this funnel-shaped smoke-cradle are beams and cross-beams where continually hang the hams, bacon, beef, mutton, and goat to be smoked. From these beams hang chains for various cooking-pots. All baking is done in a special oven of clay which is fixed either in the wall of the house or in the court-yard outside. With the more numerous and complicated family or Zadruga, around this central

house containing the family fire are built small wooden houses or huts called "vayat," of one or two rooms, for the younger married members of the family. The group of buildings often includes a special guest-house for the offering of hospitality. Gardens and orchards of plum-trees and other fruit-trees generally surround the building on all sides. The Servian saying is that, "Where the plum-tree grows the ground is good." Back of the gardens are the stables and sheds for the beasts, and an important building in a Servian family community is the granary, where maize and wheat and other grains are stored, extra provisions being always laid up for the rainy day, the day of fighting-troubles, or other unforeseen dangers.

When the houses are two-story high and contain many rooms, the lower part or basement is often of stone, the upper part of wood, overhanging the lower story, and the extension often rests on beams or on posts or pillars which give the effect of colonnades or cloisters when the house is richly made. The separate rooms are warmed by a brazier of burning charcoal called "mangal."

The inner decoration of the house consists generally of home-made carpets and hangings of the same stitch called Tchillims (Persian "kelim").

As with all Slavs, the Serbs are very prolific and consider that a family is blessed by the great number of its children. A woman owns special consideration for being the mother of many. "The woman homes the house," is a Servian proverb.

2. MORAL CHARACTERISTICS AND RELIGION

In considering the moral characteristics of the Servians, the attention is first struck by their spirit of independence and next by their love of home. The spirit of independence expressed and demonstrated in their forms of social and administrative organizations from remotest times, such as popular participation by discussion in all decisions affecting the general welfare of the Serb group, tribe, clan, principality, state, or empire; democratic institutions of justice; early trial by jury, etc., and the immemorial national assembly, or Sbor, from which their very name is said to be derived. This spirit of freedom and respect of the individual has been through the ages the strength and glory of the Serb people as it was of the great Slav race of antiquity through which its life streams descended. This characteristic, grown sometimes to excess, and its correlative, love of peaceful life with absence of the desire of conquest, has been also its weakness, and has, at several periods of its history, submitted it to conquest by warring invaders, and has always generated the reactionary or resistant force against which the tendencies and necessities for strong national union have been forced to contend. So true is this that they themselves recognized the value to them of St. Sava's proverb, "Samo Sloga Srbina Spasava," and they adopted it as the national motto. The four C's or S's between the limbs of the cross on the shield in the national arms are the initials of that motto, the translation of which is: Only Union (is) Servian Salvation.

The other fundamental Servian characteristic, love of home, is like unto the first, and about the central hearth-fire group all the more intimate personal ideals of life and of the relation of human beings to one another.

The Serb, like his racial ancestor before him, has no instinct for the conquest of other nations. The desire to subjugate and rule other races and force their productive capacity to yield its results into his own national treasures, or to press the sons of other lands into Serb military service for further conquests among the nations, has never formed any part of the Servian aspiration; nor does their history show that any war of greed or gain was ever undertaken by the Serb race. If, however, the Serb has been loath to shed the blood of his neighbors in order to rob them of their possessions, he has been swift to draw the sword and slow to put it down in the defence of his own home and his beloved liberty. He also has been ready to fight for any other nation when the principle of home defence was at stake, and many times for that cause has he spilled his blood freely for Austria and Hungary and other neighbouring states; and so far back as the Trojan war Homer tells us, according to Strabo, that his ancestors brought their troops to defend Troy.

Serb valor and heroism have been shown through the centuries in their unceasing fight to preserve their liberties, first against Byzance, then the Turks on the east, and against the Germanic and Magyar nations on the north and west. In this unceasing battle of self-defence against great nations the Serbs have al-

ways been a handful against a host, a few against a far outnumbering enemy. What we fight for we love, so the Serb has loved his home, his mother earth, with a peculiarly tender and changeless affection. He will not give it up; it is saturated with his blood and purified by the sacred fire of his devotion. It has belonged to his race since the beginning of historic time. He believes that it is a part of himself. Whatever conquest may come or go—and all conquests from Gaul to Turk that ever came through the ages have always gone again, and left the Slav—the Serb remains unvarying in his sense of eternality. It is a moral characteristic remarked by many, this confidence in his final destiny, when what he has fought for, prayed for, and sung will be attained; that is, liberty to develop peacefully his ideals.

The qualities most noticed in the Serb by foreign travellers and writers, his hospitality and quick sympathy, his wit and love of merriment, of song and dance and keen practical proverbs, his pride and *grand-seigneurism*, that native air of princeliness of the Servian mountaineer, commented upon by many travellers, and which derives no doubt from his sense of freedom and the fact of his having always owned a home, and having been ready and able to defend it with the sword—these characteristics of the soldier-farmer, despising conquest yet chanting all heroic deeds and possessing a mentality highly sensitive to cultural tendencies, delighting in song and in science, have held their own, through all the vicissitudes of his history, during the long ages of battle in guard of his home, and during those periods of comparative

peace when he has been able to rest awhile on his sword.

The Serb genius was near to a rich flowering at the end of the fourteenth century when the terrific Turkish onrush and subsequent relentless pressure of the Ottoman, hacking and burning his way westward, overthrew the imperial throne and Servian empire and overwhelmed its dawning glory of culture and civilization in sudden night and terror. All humane graces and creations of the intelligence were trampled, like the young grain in the fields, under the feet of the fierce myriads. From that time to within less than a century ago the Serb people have bent every force of physical and mental skill to the regaining of their freedom.

In fighting for their homes they became the bulwark of Europe against the Turks. That long battle, though it put in abeyance the main cultural development of the race, was yet not entirely able to hinder all expression of its genius. On those charred fields, from the blood of its heroes, and among its ruined castles, grew white flowers of national hope, and murmurs and music of immortality breathed new life and sense of grandeur into the Servian soul. The tales of the heroes chanted in verse bred new heroes.

Since earliest times men of all nations having dealings with the Serb peoples have put on record the custom among them of recounting their national past history, as well as contemporary events, in ballad form. These songs and ballads were chanted to the sound of the "gouzla," a violin with one string, either by bards passing from one village to another or

by members of the family or Zadruga. The historical events so enshrined may or may not have retained the exact similitude of what actually occurred; heroes are apt to grow taller with the years —except in times of national decadence, when even the gods fall from their heavens and dwindle to pygmies.

However that may be, these bards have always been teachers as well as chroniclers. They have nursed the Serb child in its history and the ideas of its race. The Servian ballad lore came to the knowledge of Europe with the Servian revolution at the beginning of last century, especially with the publication by Vouk S. Karajich, in 1814, of his collection of ballads, chants, and songs taken down from word of mouth from the people during the time of his service as secretary to one of the revolutionary leaders. That collection made known to the world the old heroic and modern poetry and ballads and their place in excellence, above the folk-songs in beauty and grandeur, of any other European people. They deal with the highest themes of human life and heroic action, sublime ideal and devotion to national freedom. Goethe was among the writers who at once made translations from them into Western tongues, and he ranked them with the Iliad and Odyssey. These publications, in their treasure of poetry and exalted heroism, of homely philosophy and wit as well as of spiritual or mystical apprehension of daily life and sense of beauty, were a revelation of the Servian mind and character as it had not been known prior to that time.

This high poetic capacity is not the only indication

of the strong cultural and intellectual tendencies of the Servian race, men remarkable the world over in artistic and scientific attainment, from the painters Schiavone and Carpaccio of the Renaissance to such as Ruggiero Boshkovitch, V. S. Karadjich, Danitchitch, Iosif Panchich, Professor Jagitch, V. Bogishitch, Nicola Tesla, Professor Cvijitch, Dr. Petronievitch, etc., men of Serb stock, as were also the Hungarian, Kossuth, Francis Deak, and the greatest of Hungarian poets, Petoffyi Sandor (died 1849), whose real name was Alexa Petrovitch. Many generals and statesmen who have served in Russia and Austria, especially in the latter state; Grasalkovitch, the great minister of Maria Theresa; and the generals Quosdanovitch, Davidovitch, Roditch, Jovanovitch, Maroichich, Grivitchich, Philipovitch Jellachich, Rukavina, among others who contributed to the glory of the Austrian army, evidence the same capacities in the individual of which the race as a whole gave proof in the last century, in the rapid organization of the state for the kingdom in 1804, and the manner in which, under many discouraging conditions, they hastened to create in their newly redeemed land efficient administrative machinery and institutions of learning, even before the smoke of battle had well cleared from the field where their liberty was won, and before the enemy was well over the border.

The Servian is interested in every new idea, greedy to learn, as are those long debarred from opportunity for natural progress. He is in danger at times of not being able to compare and judge exactly ideas proposed to him from the outside. In his sincere admi-

ration of what other peoples have written and done, in his desire for growth and progress, he may be in danger to-day of keeping too open a mind toward some ideas, social and philosophical, which have proved poisonous in the lands of their origin and which would be even more deadly to the Serb.

The Serb is tenacious of purpose, but not in dogged fashion like the Bulgarian. The surface of his resolution appears to rise and subside, but the depths are changeless.

During the long period of the Turkish domination the Servian always remained in a state of insurrection, either latent or active, according to times and tides.

The heroism of the Serb in wars of defence or liberation has always been absolute.

An incident in the sixteenth century of the long struggle between Christian Serb and Moslem Turk, recounted by a survivor on the Serb side, and by the Turkish historians, which is the subject of a German poetic drama by Theodor Körner, forms a picturesque illustration, not only of Serb heroism and scorn of life, where the fortunes of their just cause were at stake, but is characteristic of the tragedy and romance which gleamed in and out of the dark woof of Serbo-Turkish history.

The Servian Count Nicholas Zriny, with his own men, all Serbs, was defending the castle of Szigeth against the Turkish army commanded in person by Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent. Under firm control, the few Serbs fought, every man, as an arrow to the bow bent, striking home.

The beleaguering Turks, surging in vain for hours about the fortress, were unable to make headway except across heaps of their own slain. When at last, after stanch resistance, and when the Servian numbers were nearly spent, Zriny saw that the place could no longer hold out, he threw open the gates to the enemy's forces, and, at the moment when they stormed within, the wife of the Count, in execution of her husband's commands, and with true Serb spirit, put fire to the powder magazines and blew up the castle, themselves, and the masses of Turks who had pressed into the stronghold.

Staring upon this grim scene with wide, fixed eyes, sitting bolt upright in the chair of command before his silken tent, was Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent. But the reverberations and terror did not move him, and the gazing eyes beheld no earthly image, for the final conqueror of all conquerors had passed in the early morning. The stone-cold body had been set up in all its gorgeous trappings by the Grand Vizir, Mehemet Sokolovitch, in fear for the Turkish soldiers to know that their all-glorious leader and master was dead.

This Sokolovitch, the mightiest through the centuries of all the Turkish grand vizirs, was a Serb who had been carried away as an infant to Constantinople by the Turkish "blood-tax" collectors, who every seven years swept through the conquered districts to tear all Christian male children from their parents and take them to Constantinople, where they were renamed and trained up as Moslems and fighters to serve the Ottoman state. They were generally

enrolled among the "Yenichari" (Janissaries), the fiercest legion known to history, used by the Sultans to conquer and hold down the Serb lands.

Such traits occur all along the way of Servian history. Those who pass by Nish to-day can see by the roadside "The Tower of Sculls," set up by the Turks in 1806, and which they studded with the heads of the men under Sindjelitch some hundreds strong, who also held a vast Turkish army at bay, hoping to give time for the arrival of Servian reinforcements, and finally when further resistance was vain the Serbs deliberately threw open the stronghold and blew it up, with themselves and large numbers of the enemies.

The Serbs are not snobbish or cringing, and support principle rather than an individual. They will not follow an individual for the sake of personality, but for the principles he represents, and for the same reason they are apt to appear disloyal and forsake instantly a man, however popular, who appears to weaken in point of principle. They are jealous-natured, fond of political and historical discussion. Peasants or simple farm laborers will come to hard words, and even blows, over some old historical event of their own national history.

A story is told by an English traveller who saw two men fall to fisticuffs, and discovered on inquiry that the cause of the violence was a discussion regarding the battle of Kossovo, which brought about the fall of the Servian empire some five hundred years ago.

They cling to their ancient glory and have implicit faith in future Servian destiny. A sense of the secular persistence of their race is shown by the early Slavs

of the same region, in the passing of successive conquering invasions over them, as wind over the grass, that rises again after it has swept by. Empires were superposed on them, rose, fell, and utterly disappeared, leaving always the Slav, as if he were an indigenous perpetual growth from the sod itself.

The Servian is deeply religious, but shrinks from religious discussions. He considers his religion a part of himself, and the daily life takes constant note of his relation to the Unseen: to the Great Creator of all, to his Son, and to all his saints, and to many other symbolized forces of nature: nymphs, spirits of woods, water, fire, and wind, and spirits good and evil, which have been a living reality with him from ancient pagan times and have come on down to dwell alongside of his Christianity.

By long custom, half unconsciously, by second nature, he remembers God in all time of his daily duties and pleasures. The Church is a part of himself and identified with all that he is or that belongs to him; it is a part of his family, of his community, and of his nation. He has no conception of them apart from it, any more than he would have an idea of himself and his life apart from the earth. He is only semi-conscious of these conceptions. He could not understand the existence of the Serb nation without the Orthodox Christian Church. He cannot understand religious propaganda which would aim at separating him from what to him is an integral part of his being, neither has he any inclination to make propaganda to induce others to profess his own faith. The invoking of God's protection and making of the

triple sign of the cross prefaces in some form the familiar acts of the day. If a friend calls and the wine-jug is brought out, however merry the meeting may be, God's blessing is invoked by the one who offers and the one who receives the cup. It is a custom like saying "good-day."

At all family festivals three toasts are drunk, first to the glory of God, praying that he will be helpful to all men; the second is to the holy cross; and the third to the Holy Trinity with invocation for blessing "to all men in all places." On all occasions of gathering together, whether with festive or serious intent, blessings are asked or prayers offered up. These prayers are usually spontaneous. On the occasion of celebrations or happy social gatherings, should there chance to be present any one with an especial poetic gift, he is invited to improvise a prayer for the circumstance. These invocations are taken as a matter of course and part of the nature of things, not as being any unusual exercise.[1]

The saints are to the Serb countryman a reality not seen by the human eye, but perceived as an actual

[1] It would appear that this attitude of mind toward religion and race ideals holds the secret of the imperishable quality that has been so widely remarked concerning the ever-present consciousness of their glorious past achievements and the firm belief of the Serbs in their destiny as a people. The Servians of to-day, however, are threatened by a greater danger than any they have had to meet from the Turks on the field of battle, an insidious, imperceptible danger; one, it may be feared, which their past experience has not prepared them to sufficiently recognize or cope with.

One of the phenomena of modern political methods, in regard to the conquest and subjugation of one nation by another, is the importance allotted to the destruction of national forces from within; the introduction by some appeal to the mind of ideas which under the guise of greater liberality or scientific exactitude, or some higher and broader conception of humanity, are fallacies clothed in high-sounding but empty words,

presence. "Sve-Vishnye," or "Sve-Vishnye-Bog," the most high God, delegates to his saints the guardianship of certain forces of nature: so St. Peter keeps the gates of heaven; St. Paul protects wine and wheat; St. Elias has the thunder and lightning and in that quality he is aid to St. Peter; St. Mary of the Fire; St. Thomas is guardian of the rain-clouds; Archangel Michael regulates the autumn weather; St. Nicholas is protector of all waters, the ocean and its ships, the rivers, lakes, and springs; St. Sava is the guardian of snow and ice; St. Pantheleymon has charge of the summer heat; St. John the Baptist is the patron of all brotherhoods and "Koomstvo," or godfathership.

St. George is much honoured among Serbs as among all Slavs. He is the guardian of the flowers of spring and of lambs, the defender of all young growing things, whether herb or animal. When Christianity was adopted the old god of spring and young life was baptised into the faith as St. George. His flower is the lily of the valley, "Djordjevka." To the old god was sacrificed a young lamb, so no young lamb is killed before St. George's day, April 24, when through all the Servian villages a young lamb is killed

allowing for pose and the magnificent gesture. They flatter the intelligence in its unceasing and divine tendencies toward progress, and by teaching it to seek new developments through other formulas than those evolved by its own genius, sow distrust of itself, rousing sometimes contempt of its own familiar ways, breeding discontent, which, by degrees, gnaws and eats away the old foundations and corrodes the sources of its national faith, until at last, one by one, the old strongholds of national belief which had been a people's strength through the ages crumble into dust at the feet of its enemies, self-destroyed. It has been calculated that what would never yield either to the sword or to shot or shell of Krupp guns might be wholly subjugated and forever put an end to by these methods of moral and mental corruption, this new and scientific conjuring and bewitchment of a people's central thought-forces, to bring it to self-disintegration.

and eaten in his honour. That day is often chosen in which to consecrate the "Pobratimstvo," or sacred bond of "brotherhood" among two friends.

The general idea of heaven is that of successive regions of varying degrees of purity and bliss; some say there are seven, some say many more. The lowliest is in the blue sky which lies nearest to the earth. In each of these divine countries or lands of the upper world is a station where records must be shown and penalty must be paid. At death two angels are sent to conduct the soul on its way. The idea is that they stop at the various stations to examine his deeds done in the flesh, and accordingly his place of abode is determined and his penance fixed. Very few or none attain the "Highest Heaven" immediately upon leaving earth; most men must work their way through, beginning at the lowest, and by deeds of progressive enlightenment finally win the Land of Supreme Gladness.

During a few days at Easter the joy of resurrection time is supposed to be so great that all the angels at the various stations forget their duties and all gates remain open and unguarded. The persons who chance to die during those days go straight into whatever heaven they may have time to reach without being held to answer at any station.

It has been suggested that this belief is not without influence among the masses of the populations in leading the Serbs to choose Easter as the most favoured moment for the outbreak of insurrections in the cause of liberty. It is always at this time of the melting of the snows, and the return to life of man and nature

after the period of winter quiescence, and when the spirit of resurrection most deeply possesses the Servian soul, that his love of liberty and patriotic ardour flame up the highest and fire him to raise the standard of revolt against a foreign conqueror to the cry of "Christ is risen!"

The first outbreak for the freeing of modern Servia under Karageorge occurred at Easter-tide in 1804, and it was on Palm Sunday, in 1815, when that first insurrection had appeared to be crushed, that Milosh Obrenovitch stood forth before the church of Takovo, holding the Serb standard and crying out: "Here am I and here is war to the Turk," and so began the last rebellion which finally freed modern Servia; and throughout Serb lands all uprisings in the attempt to throw off the yoke of foreign domination have burst forth near the time of the resurrection day.

One of the Servian notions is that as Christ had his star, so with the birth of each individual a star is born which endures while the person lives and disappears with him when he dies, presumably to follow him to the land of his new life. Shooting stars show the death of some one. This idea corresponds to an old Indian belief. Another popular conception is that one week after the birth of every child a "Vila" named "Oussoud," or fate (the verb "ossouditi" means to judge), stands by the child's cradle and pronounces its destiny. The mother does not see the Vila but she can feel the presence, and sometimes in deep quiet, by straining her ears and attention, she can hear the fateful judgment. It is believed that the

day of death is preordained. Another belief is that once in the year, at Epiphany, God visits the earth. The day is called "Bogoyavlyenye," or "God-visiting."

Every human being has his or her little devil, always ready to whisper evil in contest with the good angel who always speaks good thoughts and good advice.

Besides the angels and the saints, each person, each family and family group has its patron saint. In pagan times these patron saints were the family "God" and represented ancestor-worship. The greatest insult then, as it is now, was something uttered against "Thy (family) God" or "Thy (family) Saint." A world of unseen beings, both good and evil, symbolising nature forces surround human life and take part in its affairs according to the desires or nature of the individual.

The sorceress, or "veshtiza," is an evil spirit which has taken possession of or been embodied in some old woman of bad character. The vampire may also be embodied in some human being or mostly in some buried dead body, and come out of the grave to suck the blood or the strength of the living.

A bad spirit which roams between heaven and earth is a kind of dragon-woman, called "Halla," whose special delight is to destroy the crops by hail and sleet. In the villages sometimes are "Vetrenyatzi" (spirits of the wind); some, like "Halla," bring on the storm, but generally they are good and ward away the hail and sleet. In one of Janko Vesselinovitch's short stories, one of his village characters describes how "Petar" a young fellow of the village, is a vetrenyatch, and how, when he sees the dark

clouds flying overhead, he drops his work, runs wildly hither and yon, gets in the course of the driving storm, and battles with "Halla" to turn the sleet away from the village crops; how he runs fiercely, beating against the wicked one, and is himself buffeted and beaten in return; how he still runs madly struggling with the evil force, until finally the storm turns off the track and leaves the village unharmed; but "Petar," who has fought with the spirits of evil, "is deadly white and has great hollows as blue as indigo in his neck and cheeks and eye-sockets, and is as one dead for a while." [1]

According to popular poetic conception and expression, the most living as well as the most good and lovable of the ambient spirits is the Vila, who still exists as a legendary symbol—the Vila of the streams, the Vila of the mountain and the Vila of the clouds. They are maidens of eternal beauty and youth; they are robed in garments of light, pure white; they love song and dance; so wondrous fair are they that mortals may not behold them and again bear to look upon the common world. The women in their tales of the Vila recount how that sometimes, if a child is left alone in a garden or a field at midday, when the sun strikes down in white heat, a Vila will carry him away to her glorious home in the hills.

[1] "Petar" evidently possesses in his own person the power of those Christians in a Western American town who believed that by their united intense prayer in the instant of peril they had held off the cyclone from destroying their newly-built church; and those Italians in a small chapel at the foot of Mount Vesuvius who, by their strenuous petitions, stemmed the thick current of lava as it rolled down toward them, and who show the tourist to-day the stiffened mass turned abruptly aside from its natural course, in evidence of the worth of their supplications.

There she will bathe him and dress him and comb his hair and lull him to sleep; she feeds him with nectar and kisses him and plays with him among her own magic woods and flowery meadows. The child is entranced and "fairyfied" when his mother finds him again in the garden and holds out her arms to him; he is afraid of her; she looks ugly, because he thinks always of the Vila; she would take him in her arms but he struggles to be free and gazes at her with strange eyes; she offers him cakes and sugar plums, but he cannot eat them; when she kisses him he cries, and he never ceases crying and pining for the Vila until finally he wastes away and dies.

Many are the tales of the Vilas. In their true character they love human beings and are their guardians and good angels; they are the protectors of and take an interest in the communities where they live; they are patriotic and lovers of the nation; they love all heroes and brave men, protect them in battle, heal their wounds, and direct them on a fortunate way, as Pallas Athene was wont to appear at the side of the hero in the heat of battle, to strengthen him should the day seem to be turning against him. Often in the national ballads the hero has his Vila, who is called his "Sister"; she has chosen him as brother.

The great Vilas take an interest in the affairs of the country. Such are the Vila of the Avala Mount, in Servia; the Vila of Mount Lovtchen, in Montenegro; the Vila of Mount Vitosh, in Bulgaria, etc.; each country, each district, has its own Vila.

The Vila really is the symbol for the Ideal of Beauty, of Goodness, of Heroism, the poetic image of

feminine greatness. Yet with all her grand qualities the Vila is not without some taint of the feminine genius she typifies. She is jealous, sometimes envious, and has been known to dislike to hear singing more beautiful than her own, punishes those who chance to disturb her joyous dancing in round by moonlight, borrows away a lovely child from its mother, sometimes winning its heart to herself. Still, she finally relents and returns the child to its sorrowing mother, and if she sends an arrow to shoot at some hero who has offended her, she hastens to heal the wound with herbs, and endows one whom she has punished more richly than he was before, with gifts of glory or beauty.

Corresponding to this feminine ideal is the masculine ideal symbolised in the "Zmay," or dragon. This dragon is not the noisome and deadly monster as slain by St. George, but the strongest and boldest, the most handsome young hero of the world, who, under the guise of a fiery great dragon, has power to accomplish any undertaking or mount to the highest heaven. A rain of "falling stars" is spoken of as "the fire showered from his wings" as he flies through space. In Servian the epithet of "Zmay" is a word used only to denote the bravest of the brave.

3. LANGUAGE

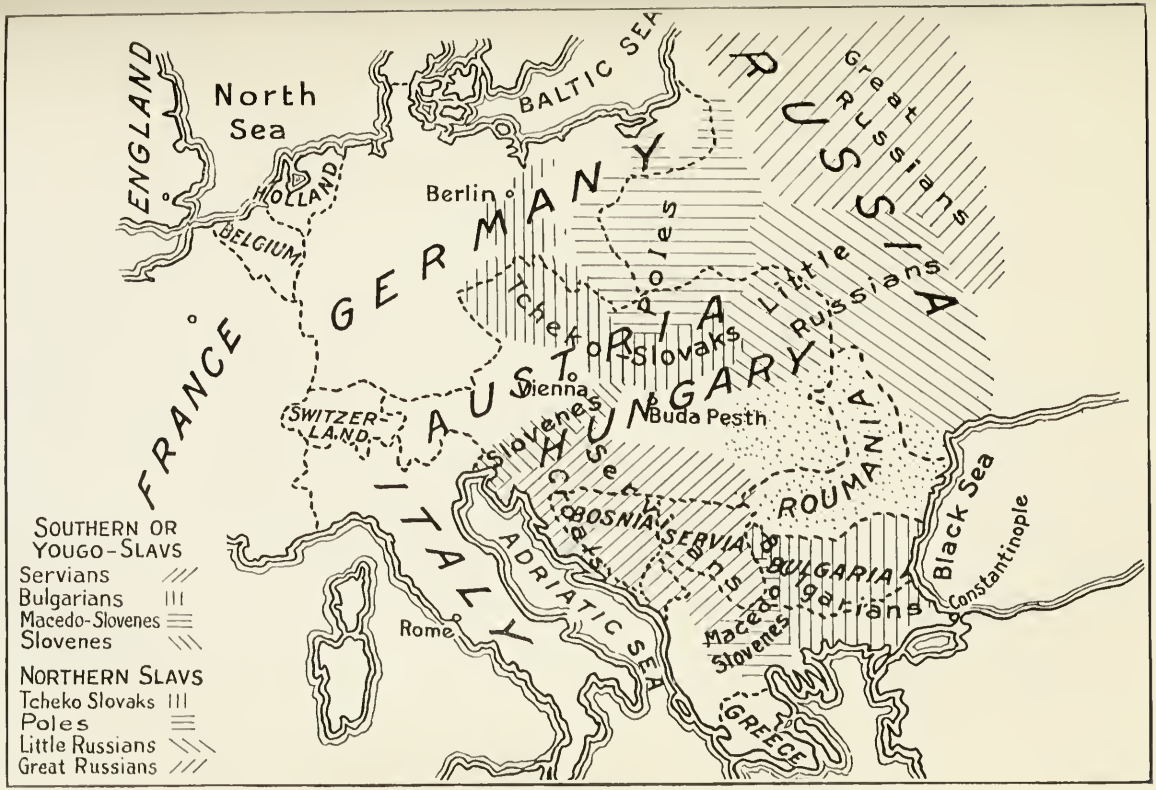
The language, like the race of the Serbs, has its roots in far antiquity.

The later Serb inflow into the lands of its present and prehistoric occupation brought a Slavonic dialect which doubtless became one with the indigenous

Slavonic speech of those regions and which would appear to have borne more direct impress of Zend Sanskrit influence or derivation.

	SERB	SANSKRIT	ZEND	ENGLISH
1	jedan	eka	aéva	one
2	dva	dwi (dvau)	dva	two
3	tri	tri	thri	three
4	chetiry	chatur (chatwara)	chathwar (chathru)	four
5	pet	panchan (pancha)	panchan	five
6	shest	shash (shat)	csvas (kshwas)	six
7	sedam	saptan	haptan	seven
8	osam	ashtan	astan	eight
9	devet	navan	navan	nine
10	deset	dasan	dasan	ten
11	jedanaest	ekédasa	aevandasan	eleven
20	dvadeset	dvinsati	dvisaiti	twenty
100	sto	satam	satem	hundred
1000	hiliada tisiutcha	sahasra	hazaura	thousand

SERVIAN	SANSKRIT	ENGLISH
put	pathy, patha	way
vuk	vuka	wolf
svetlo	sveta	light
voda	uda	water
ogni (ogen)	agni	fire
Verbs		
yesam	asmi	I am
yesi	asi	thou art
yest	asti	he is
yesmo	smas	we are
yesti	stha	you are
jsou	sauti	they are



Distribution of the different branches of the Slavonic Race in Europe.

Professor Yagitch, the famous Slavist, shows in his "History of the South Slavonic Languages" (Archives for Slavonic Philology, 1895), that from west to east among the southern slaves the language of the different groups from Slovene, Croat, Serb, Macedo-Slovene, and Bulgarian, form a continuous chain of dialects or slight variations of one and the same language. The difference really consists in nothing more than accent and pronunciation and length of certain vowels, like the substitution of "i" and "ye" for "e," and the shifting of the accent in a word of more than one syllable from one syllable to the other.

These different dialects are:

1. *The Karantanian group*, spoken in the districts comprising the towns of Laibach (Ljublanye), Terst (Triest), Goritza (Gortz), Villach, Marburg, Cilli, Rudolfswert, Adelsberg. This dialect developed in a literary language the Slovene.

2. *Croat group:* Zagrab (Agram) Cakavac, Varazdin Sissak, Rjeka (Fiume) Novi, Pola, Pisino, Lissa, Spalato (Spleti), Brazza (Bratch).

3. *Servian group:* Serayevo, Cetinye, Dubrovnik (Ragusa) Mostar, Banyaluka, Otocatz, Belovar, Pozega, Osyek, Novisad, Nagy Kikinda, Versec, Belgrad, Aleksinac, Vranya, Skoplye, Novipazar, Pristina, Prisren, Dibra, Tetovo, Gusinye. The Croat group (2.) joined this group, which developed a literary language, the Servian, so that these two last groups, the Croat and the Servian, have one common written language, the Servian, and form one literary unity.

4. *Shopo-Macedonian* or *Macedo-Slovene:* comprising Sofia, Vidin, Vratcha, Velbuzd (Kostendil)

Bitolya, Ohrida, Kostur, Salonika, Doiran, Shtip, Dzuma. This dialect has not a literary language; their epic poesy and other popular songs are the Servian heroic epics and national song or subjects, as Nemanyas, Kossovo, Lazaritza, Marco-Kralyevitch cyclus, etc.

5. *Bulgarian:* Trnovo, Plevna, Rushtchuk, Silistria, Varna, Plovdiv, Drama, Xanthi, Dedeagatch, Adrianople, Constantinople having no national poetic traditions or epics, developed a literary language on the basis of the Danube-Bulgarian dialect.

Each of these groups had in mediæval times its state formation; there was, first, a Karantania; second, a Croatia; third, a Serbia; fourth, a Shopo-Macedonian empire under Samuel, afterward the state of Vidin; and, fifth, a Bulgaria.

These various state formations did not arise from or were not the result of separatist tendencies, but have to be taken as representing spontaneous efforts in different localities toward uniting the whole mass of kindred groups of Slavs into one united whole. The Serb group alone was able to unite the southern Slavs into a great state, which endured with some fluctuation of border during several hundred years. The Bulgarian banner did not represent this desire for self-union and self-government of a homogeneous Slav race, but was a temporary extension of border by an Ouralo-Finnish invasion into the territories occupied by present Bulgaria, which had been superposed on a native Slav population whose language and customs it came later to adopt.

It may be interesting here to remark that the lan-

guage of the northern Slavs forms also a more or less similar chain of dialects of the same language that is the ancient Slavonic mother tongue.

From west to east we have the Tcheque and Slovac; the Polish; Lusatians in Prussia and Saxony, who call themselves "Srbi or Srbs"; the Baltic Slavs, (who disappeared, having been transformed into the Brandenburgians, Prussians, Pommeranians, and Mecklenburgs); the Malo (little) Russians, the Belo (white) Russians, and the Velko (great) Russians.

The language of the "Little Russians" is most like that spoken by the Serbs. A curious point of ethnography in this connection is that the earliest Servian state formations centred in the regions called to-day Novi-Bozar, and the south-western parts of modern Servia, which was called "Rashka," and its people (the Serbs of that time) "Rascians," the name by which the Magyars still designate the Servians.

All of these groups, both north and south, are slightly varying forms of the same language, spoken altogether by one hundred and fifty million people in Europe, of whom about fifty million are non-Russians inhabiting non-Russian lands.

The Servian language, as fixed in its grammatical forms and brought to more simple exactitude of phonetic writing and pronunciation by Vouk Stephanovich Karadjich in the early nineteenth century, who used for that purpose the dialect spoken in south-west Serbia and in Herzegovina as being the purest and richest Serb form of speech, is used by the Croatians and Servians, with this difference, that the Croatians, who are the Roman Catholic Serbs, use in

Cyrillic Modern Servian	Modern Croat	Old Cyrillic as used today in Orthodox Church	Numeral Value of old Cyrillic	Old Glagolitza as used today in Roman Catholic Churches with Paleslovenian Sacred Language	Numeral Value of Glagolitza	English Sounds
А а	A a		1		1	ah
Б б	B b		—		2	like b in best
В в	V v		2		3	like v in vest
Г г	G g		3		4	like g in get
Д д	D d		4		5	like d in day
Е е	E e		5		6	like a in ate
Ж ж	Ž ž		—		7	like j or Zh
			6		8	dz
З з	Z z		7		9	Z
			10		10	like i in it
И и	I i		8		20	like ee in sweet
J j	J j		—		30	like ye
К к	K k		20		40	k
Л л	L l		30		50	l
М м	M m		40		60	m
Н н	N n		50		70	n
О о	O o		70		80	o
П п	P p		80		90	p
Р р	R r		100		100	r
С с	S s		200		200	s
Т т	T t		300		300	t
У у	U u		400		400	like oo in root
Ф ф	F f		500		500	f
Х х	H h		600		600	like h in has
			800		700	oh

Cyrillic Modern Servian	Modern Croat	Old Cyrillic as used today in Orthodox Church	Numeral Value of old Cyrillic	Old Glagolitza as used today in Roman Catholic Churches with Paleoslovenian as Sacred Language	Numeral Value of Glagolitza	English Sounds
		Ц҃	—	Ц҃	800	sht
Ц ц	C c	Ц	900	Ⱌ	900	like ts in lets
Ч ч	Č č	Ч	90	Ⰷ	1000	like ch in chain
Ш ш	Š š	Ш	—	Ш	—	like sh in shall
		Ъ	—	Ꙫ	—	like u in but
		Ꙁ҃	—	Ꙫ҃	—	like French u
		Ъ҃И	—	Ꙫ҃	—	in eu
		Ь	—	Ꙭ	—	like e in opens
		Ѣ	—	Ⰰ	—	yah or yea
		Ю	—	Ⱂ	—	like u in mule
		Я	—	—	—	ya
		Є	—	—	—	like ee–a
		Ѧ ѧ	900	Ⱑ	—	like in in French fin
		Ѫ	—	Ⱔ	—	like on in French bon
		Ꙗ	—	Ⱓ	—	like ien in French lien
		Ѩ	—	Ⱗ	—	like ion in French clarion
		Ѯ	60	—	—	ks
		Ѱ	700	—	—	ps
		Ѳ	9	Ⱁ	—	Letters of Greek Alphabet used only in Greek Names
		Ѵ	400	Ꙋ	—	
Љ љ	L' l' Lj lj	—	—	—	—	like el-ye
Њ њ	Ň ň Nj nj	—	—	—	—	like en-ye
Ћ ћ	Ć ć	—	—	—	—	like dth
Ђ ђ	Ď Gj gj ď Dj dj	—	—	—	—	like dj
Џ џ	Dž dž	—	—	—	—	like dzh

writing the Latin characters, while the Serbs, like all other orthodox Slavs, use the Cyrillic alphabet.

What Karadjich had done in modernising the Cyrillic alphabet for the Serb, employing the phonetic principle, Louis Gai did in 1831 for the Croat tongue, using the Tcheck-Latin alphabet with an etymological basis.

The Serbo-Croat tongue, except for this difference of alphabet, is one and the same. The grammar of Vouk Karadjich, printed in both types of alphabet, is used for the teaching to strangers of the Serbo-Croat language.

The Cyrillic is based on a Runic script common in ancient Slavonic writing, modifications of the "Glagolitz" letters, and several characters adapted from the Greek alphabet. It was used by Cyril and Methodus, the Slav brothers who carried Christian conversion throughout the Slav countries of the Balkans in the ninth century and made a translation of the Bible into that tongue.

The Glagolitza is found in old Roman Catholic ritual in the Paleo-Slovene language—used even to day in Croatia—and it is found in the ancient holy writing in Paleo-Slovene, the "sacred language," of the orthodox Christian Church in all Slav lands.

In the Cyrillic alphabet each letter has one clear sound which does not change. The tones are uttered distinctly and melodiously, and while harmonious there are certain sounds of letters as of words, some sharp and harsh, others exceedingly mellifluous, which imitate nature or evoke an image or emotion by their sound alone.

In the Servian tongue there are 46.47 per cent. of consonances, which is 8.39 per cent. more than in German and 3 per cent. more than has the French. The Servian tongue has no article, and the conjugation and declension of all parts of speech are expressed by inflection in the form of the words. The grammatical forms of declension and conjugation resemble more those of the classical than of the modern languages.

This tongue lends itself marvellously well, both as regards quantity and interpretation, to translations from the Greek and Latin classics. It is well suited to scientific exactitude and beauty of literary expression.

4. FAMILY LIFE—CLANS—COMMUNITIES—ZADRUGAS, ETC.

The basis of the Slav social organisation has always been the family, with communistic groupings. These organisations, however, are not "patriarchal," which, in the proper sense, had always regard to shepherd peoples and cattle-raisers, which were apt to be roaming and required a strong central authority.

The Serb and all other Slav systems differ fundamentally from the patriarchal, and were not evolved with special regard to roaming or nomadic habits, but grew out of considerations affecting agriculture and its requirements. The basis of the Serb organisation is the family, either in its narrowest sense of blood-relationship, in communistic organisation, or other individuals grouped together for common work and with common possessions. These forms are called "Zadruga" (pronounced "Zadrooga"). The

word is derived from the verb "zadrugiti," to be joined together.

Several Zadrugas, especially if they are kin-groups, form the "Rod," or family, in the larger sense. The agglomeration of such Rods through many generations form the "Pleme," or Clan. "Vlastela" is the word for "Nobility." The "Plemitch" was the knight or armed man of the Pleme. To-day "Plemitch" is the designation for the lowest grade of the nobility, or simple gentleman. These distinctions and terms apply especially in Serb lands under Austrian sway, where the ancient order still remains.

Procopius, the Byzantine historian, says, "The Slavs [referring to Serbs] have never submitted to a one-man rule in any form whatever, and from what is known of them from the most ancient times they have always been under rule of the people (δημοκρατια). Every public act was decided by popular assemblies."

So, in the Serb family organisations, the "Paterfamilias" is not vested with unquestioned authority over the members of his family, in the absolute sense of that term as it existed in Roman law.

The Serb youngster from his childhood up is a member of a community, and receives an increasing sense of responsibility growing out of his legal situation which decrees that from the moment of his birth he enters into a partnership with his father and the other members of the community.

The customary laws as obeyed in Servia to-day exact that in case the property held in common by the family comes to be dissolved, by partition or other-

wise, each member of that family (which is always a community) receives an equal share in the allotment, the youngest receiving neither less nor more than the oldest. The paternal authority in the family is, therefore, a moral and administrative authority. The same principle works throughout all the more complicated forms of Rod and Clan (where such forms still exist), that is, that the nature of the chief authority or head is one of obligation, moral and administrative, and has no sense of over-lordship, in the usual acceptation of that term, and includes no superior possessory rights. The Zadruga in all its various forms and developments is a union of individuals, bound together by blood-ties or not, for the possession in common of properties to be worked by them in common, according to equitable distribution of labour and the enjoyment of the revenues on the principle of share and share alike.

Every member of the Zadruga owes to the community his share of the amount of effort necessary to the working and welfare of the land, home industries, or other properties possessed by the community in common. Having contributed his share of service to the common requirement, he is free to use the rest of his time in earning money apart from the Zadruga. Those private earnings, and any personal gifts which he may receive, are his own individual property to be dealt with by him as he may choose. The dowry of his wife and her personal property—unless subject to stipulation otherwise, extremely rare—are personal possessions (called "Bashtina" in the Code, Dushan) held apart from the community.

Should any member desire to separate himself from the Zadruga, or, on the other hand, should the Zadruga find it desirable to rid itself of a hopelessly unruly member, that member receives his share of the common property and is excluded.

There are three forms of Zadruga: "Inokosna," covering no further than the second generation; the Zadruga "of Kith and Kin," including several generations and all degrees of relationship; and the Zadruga of "Yedinatzi," that is, the voluntary grouping together for purposes of common interests of individuals between whom no ties of relationship exist.

The Zadruga in its most usual form is that comprising the family groups, the immediate descendants of the first and sometimes second generation, with all those brought into relationship with them by marriage.

In other days these Zadrugas numbered as many as and often more than one hundred souls, but with modernising tendencies they have fewer members, and in many cases limit themselves to one family of sons and their children, and the unmarried girls, for the bride follows her husband to become a member of his Zadruga. Further than that the formation breaks into smaller groups to found new Zadrugas.

The Zadruga begins with the family living in a house, or "Koutcha," about which other houses, called "Vayats" group themselves by degrees as the sons marry and themselves found families, and it is governed by a "Stareshina" (elder), generally the oldest member of the community, who is recognised to be, by character and experience, the most capable man

Type of a farmer's living house

for that position. He is chosen by the other members, and age is not the main qualification which governs their choice. It may happen that a younger man, or even a woman, is named Stareshina should such a one be considered the ablest and wisest member of the Zadruga.

The Zadruga is one person in its civil and legal status, and the Stareshina represents it before the law. It is one unit or "Glava" (head). Some Turkish records dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century, showing the Serb population of the then Turkish Pashalik of Belgrade, made it out that there were in the whole Pashalik only about 2,000 inhabitants, which in reality was the number of the Glavas (Heads). Each Glava or Head represented a Zadruga of perhaps 100 or more members, so the 2,000 Heads were, in true fact, between 200,000 to 300,000 individuals. The same mistake occurs in reading Byzantine records enumerating Slavonic populations.

The Stareshina is the administrator of the properties owned by the community, decides as to the expenditure or investment of its income, or, rather, he executes the desires, in these regards, of the members of the community with whom he has to consult before coming to a decision touching any general interest. It is a part of his duty to hold evenly balanced the scales of justice in many ways, preventing the clash of personalities and seeing that there is no inequality of treatment and that each member has the same amount spent for clothing and personal requirements. Although the Stareshina is invested with almost autocratic power, he holds tenure by will of

the members to whom he is responsible for good government and can be deposed.

Should he from age or any other infirmity or for any other reason prove unsatisfactory, he resigns and is superseded by another person. He retires, in that case, to live in a house set apart for him, a kind of dower-house.

The wife of the Stareshina holds among the feminine members of the community, and as regards the women's interests, a position corresponding in authority to that of her husband. She is called the "Domatchina" (home-keeper), and decides, in consultation with the important womenfolk, what the next day's work is to be, supervises all household matters, the catering and kitchen as well as questions of clothing and the spinning and weaving of textures. She is the supreme authority in all the community interests that lie in the feminine province.

The other women take it turn and turn about, week at a time, being the aid or assistant to the Domatchina, each also helping in turn in the preparation of the meals. The girls are entitled to a marriage outfit and, where it can be afforded, to a dowry. From the time when they are able to handle a needle deftly the young girls begin slowly to work on their trousseaus. The Domatchina gives them the necessary materials. They spin and weave textures for household and personal linen, which are often ornamented with exquisite needle-work—rich embroideries of gold on white linen or wool textures or on velvet, and carpets, rugs, and hangings, woven like the Pirot and other Servian carpets in a manner very much resem-

bling that of the Persian "Khelims." They are called also "Tchilims." This custom is observed by all classes of society.

The Stareshina and his wife live in the largest house containing the great fireplace. The fire on the hearth of the home is sacred. It must never be allowed to die out. Its extinction would be regarded with superstitious dread of impending ill. So long as it burns, healing and blessed influences are ascribed to it.

In the evening, after the day's work is over, the members of the family assemble around this great central hearth where the logs flame up, the men to discuss various matters, the women with distaff or sewing in hand. They tell stories and laugh and sing songs, and sometimes recite ballads, either something newly composed, perhaps some saucy doggerel of satire and sharp sally "taking off" their own peculiarities or politics, or some tale, it may be, of love and war, or some ballad of modern or ancient heroism; and they never meet without the prayer to God for blessing and honor to the Holy Trinity. In attempting to enter into the spirit of these Servian reunions, considering how dreary, often sordid—not to say desolate—the life of the main mass of people who work for their livelihood is apt to be in many other lands, how care-burdened, how lacking in the capacity to be gladsome, it may be worth while trying to account for the child-like enjoyment of the Servian country people, their free-hearted and joyous impulse in giving themselves up for the moment to dance and song, or to the rather stately pleasure, if one may call it so, which they find in going through the cere-

monials of baptism, betrothal, marriage festivities, various occasions of social gatherings, and to the pleasure which accompanies even the reunions of the "Moba," when those who have come from other districts to help a neighbouring Zadruga with either planting or harvest, have closed the day's work and gather around the evening meal to enjoy themselves, care-free, and, after the usual prayer and tribute to the Holy Trinity, turn the occasion into a time of harmless jollity.

The institution of the Zadruga, sheltering its members and exacting from them equal effort, while it has not lent itself to any great increase of riches, and indeed has been, through its essential spirit of free hospitality and guardianship of the individual, diametrically opposed to the spirit of cold exploitation and gain for gain's sake, has always shielded its members from any possible want. The mother has never had to see her little one go without food and clothing, has never had to strain her heart over the thought of its having to struggle in after years for bare existence; she could always rest secure in the knowledge that unless some burning spirit of adventure, some extraordinary ambition, led him to desire to go out into the great world to try his fortunes, he would in the natural course of things find daily work with safe shelter, good food, and warm clothing all his life. She knew, too, that if he grew up with unusual capacities he could earn money for himself and have all such possessions in his own individual right, and that if he should have the desire for higher education his expenses would be paid by the Zadruga counting out to

him his share, and later he would probably receive a loan from the Zadruga, allowing him to attend higher institutions of learning or universities. The Servian mother has been spared the microbe of anxiety over the necessities of existence, and the Serb has not had that soul-destroying factor in his composition, that heaviness which the world overlies in the heart of the main mass of mortals, like an ever-present unnamed care preventing or dampening the free and joyous impulses of nature.

The Zadruga has brought into the daily practice of life many Christian precepts and embodied many homely graces and virtues: honest work and just remuneration, consideration for the rights of others, severe moral exaction and laws of purity, and the principle of mutual help and "brotherhood," practised in many institutions from the Moba to simple hospitality. In its central fires the Zadruga has generated life forces that have made for a nation's endurance and power to hold its own through ages of constant attack. If this institution is undermined by the spirit of greed of greater gain, or any other movement for superseding the old and proved by the new and problematic, what can take its place as a conserver of national forces? The Western world has not yet wrought out a system guaranteeing anything like so great a measure of fundamental rights and rewards to the individual, with security against improvidence, nor so rich a nursery for sterling qualities of character both in man and woman.

In the Servian lands, under Austrian sway, the authorities have for political reasons encouraged and fur-

thered all elements tending toward the dissolution and destruction of the Zadruga formations. Many Austro-German and Magyar political pamphleteers have openly denounced the Zadruga system as a hindrance to the development of agriculture, progress being interpreted by them as the exploitation on a large scale of vast acreages worked in the purely industrial sense, having no regard to the earth as a foothold for homes and a nourisher of human beings. Theirs is the argument of dealing with the soil as a feeder of commerce, in opposition to the principle of considering the land as furnishing homes and livelihood for vast numbers of families. Within the kingdom itself there were, during the second part of the nineteenth century, injected into Servian public ideas foreign theories which attacked the Zadruga, and a perceptible movement began toward its disintegration. The idea gained ground that the individual and single-handed tilling of the soil or working of crafts would prove more advantageous and confer greater independence upon the individual than was the case under the Servian co-operative Zadruga system. The dissolving of some of the Zadrugas into single families has not had the expected results and has begun to create in some villages a "poverty-stricken" class which was before unknown in Serbia. This newly created class of persons is only prevented from falling to the condition of "pauperism" by a law which makes inalienable a minimum of property, five acres of land, a pair of oxen, and agricultural tools. Under the Zadruga system a number of such small holdings worked in common would have formed a well-to-do community.

Certain Servians have been able personally to observe in the lands of their origin some of the theories advocated in western Europe and the appalling miseries which those theories have up to this time been unable to avert, and have compared them with the results of the Zadruga system, proved through the ages to have well nourished and well sheltered the Servian race. Those students of modern institutions would wish to find some means of bringing this old Servian formation into line with impatient and more ambitious modern requirements without allowing it to be overwhelmed in its essential principles and lost to the race.

During the last two decades there has appeared in many districts in Servia a modernised Zadruga, evolved from a movement for reformulation based not on the principle of family relationship but on that of community of interests; a combination of community of property with co-operation and equality of labour and profit-sharing minus the conditions of living in community. In short, this form is a compromise between the ancient Zadruga and the co-operative society sought for by the more advanced and practical among Western social reformers. This new evolution of the Zadruga, by its common-sense organisation and its adaptability to conditions of labour and the modern trend of life, has practically attained the solution of the vexed problems aimed at in the "Vorruits" and other experimental social colonies in many lands.

There are among the Servian people a number of interesting ancient customs bearing on the social and

economical life of the population which will be treated in a later chapter.

These and similar institutions and customs, which have existed not only among the Servians but among all Slav peoples from times of remotest antiquity, force the conclusion that they have been a race of culture which must have long ago passed through a period of social and economic development, imposing in those far-distant ages the working out and solution of problems similar in principle to those which confront Europe and America to-day.[1]

5. RELATIONS BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN—THE PLACE OF THE WOMEN IN FAMILY AND NATIONAL LIFE

The relations between men and women in Servian lands were conditioned by life in the Zadruga and by the peculiar situation through the ages of the Serb peoples which obliged them to continual vigilance and the battle of self-defence against a foreign foe who might attack or raid at any moment. Thus a well-organised rule of life within the Zadruga, and the attitude of the man as militant protector of home and family.

By an unwritten law and national usage a boy, from the moment he is old enough to carry arms, becomes the natural defender of every woman and child

[1] In some parts of Europe, especially in Germany among the nobility and higher bourgeoisie "possessing classes," a movement is in course of development which binds families and their relations by blood and name in a strong intimate alliance, or "family community," on the principle of conservation of forces. The fortune is held in common and all interests submitted to a permanent "family council" and a yearly "family assembly" or "gathering of the clan."

whether related to him by kinship or not. He is sternly taught that it is his first duty to protect the woman, that his own honour is at stake with hers. "Mother" is a word of sacred significance, and "sister" is the term by which the Servian man addresses a woman who is a stranger. "Little sister," expressive of both respect and affection, is used to a friend as well as to a real sister.

Seyo moya, imash koga svoga?
Imam brata imam i dragoga,
Seyo moya pravo da mi kashesh,
Ili volish brata il'dragoga?
Za brata byh oba oka dala,
A za dragog tri niza dukata,
I to velim ne znam bih li dala:
Selo prodjoh ya dragoga nadjoh,
Svyet prodjoh, ya brata ne nadjoh:
Nema brata, dok ne rodi mayka.

(Literal translation)

Sister mine, hast thou any dear ones?
A brother have I, and, too, my betrothed.
Sister mine, prithee tell me truly,
Which lov'st thou best, brother or thy betrothed?
For brother's sake, my two eyes would I give,
For sake of my betrothed,—three rows of ducats—
And I protest, I know not if I'd give so much.
Passing through the village, I a lover found,
But passing through the world no brother could I find.
Never brother but he's born of one's own Mother!

There exists in the Servian language no expression for cousin in the first and second degrees. Cousins are called "brother" and "sister," and the kinship which partakes of the same nature is sacred and precludes

marriage. Boys and girls, women and men, within the old-fashioned Zadruga are kept somewhat separate from each other and are subject to certain strict usages of decorum which impose the greatest reserve in regard to all passional tendencies. At work and at reunions, except in the dance, the boys and girls are kept to a great degree in separate groups. There are always older married women present "to keep order." The young people do not have any very great opportunity of becoming intimately acquainted before marriage. Among the old-fashioned the idea still obtains that persons whose relationship could no longer be traced by actual degree, but whose "family saint" is the same, are considered as too nearly akin to marry.

From ancient times the strictest laws of purity have been observed with rigour. Some of the regulations of this moral code would seem fierce and even terrifying to more Western ideas. Marriage is a divine sacrament and is looked upon as the only possible condition permitting the intimate intercourse of the sexes; illegitimacy of children is practically unknown in Servian lands. The exhibition of love or conjugal affection in the presence of others is considered unsacred or indelicate, and the mutual demeanour of husband and wife appears to strangers ceremonious if not cold. The contrary is the case with the expression of parental, filial, or friendly affection, which is spontaneous and warm.

No marriages are ever made in the same Zadruga; they are even rare among residents of the same village. The bride is generally sought at the greatest distance possible from the home, a distance often of two or

three days' journey on horse or foot. The steps toward bringing about a marriage are generally undertaken by a third person; some relative or friend of either family, through whom the father seeks the bride for his son, begins the negotiations between the parents which, if satisfactory, lead to the meeting of the young folk.

A Servian woman has special pride in three things: First, her household linen, woven and ornamented by herself, with its rich and beautiful needle-work, often recalling in pattern the Venetian point. Her second pleasure is in the quality of her home-made preserved fruits, jams, jellies, and other sweetmeats, some of these dainties, with a cup of coffee and a glass of spring water, being offered to the visitor. Besides the cleanliness and order of the house, she prides herself much on her good cooking, and has many ways of preparing chicken and suckling pig, receipts for the preparation of soups and vegetables and a great variety of cakes.

Where more primitive conditions prevail in the Zadruga groups, and where the general duties had regard almost wholly to tilling the soil, women did certain kinds of field work, and their home duties, purely of a household nature, made of the woman merely the good housekeeper whose burdens in a maternal sense were many.

It has been found, however, in those classes and circumstances where a cultural expansion was possible through, for instance, improved educational means, that the man has in no sense held the woman down to household drudgery as her natural limita-

tion; on the contrary, she has, on a line with the man, shared in the benefits of improved conditions and the man has opened up to her educational and other advantages in pace with the development of opportunities.

The Servian is proud of any special attainment by his women-folk, and there are many instances to-day of young men who are making their way in life in one calling or another, who devote some part of a limited earning or salary to paying for the education in some European school of a sister or cousin who is studying to qualify in some technical work or with the idea of becoming a teacher. Instances of that nature are personally known to the writer.

In war times women cared for the wounded and attended to an important extent in the provisioning of the armies with food and clothing. These they carried to the troops across the hills or down the valleys, as the case might require. It has often happened when every man, young or old, able to hold a gun was fighting, that the women, too, shouldered their rifles and fought side by side with fathers and husbands, brothers and sons. As various photographs published in newspapers throughout the world have shown, the Servian women did not hesitate during the recent crisis to form themselves into bands for military drill and to organise their resources as fighting auxiliaries. The men said nothing to these preparations, knowing that it must be so, and that the Servian women were only doing what the women of their race had been often forced to do in times gone by. Especially is this true in Montenegro, where the entire provisioning of the armies and hospital work

were always in the hands of the women. When Prince Nicola desired to form a men's department for those services, the Montenegrin women opposed the measure and considered themselves wronged in a special prerogative!

Although the Servian woman has not shown herself ambitious to take the lead in public or political affairs, she has always been the great conservative force in the nation, and defended all national interests as if they were matters of the fireside. Like her symbol the Vila, she is the font of pure patriotism. In her heart the fires of devotion never die, she cherishes the old traditions and customs and religious faith, teaches her babe the old histories and tales of past achievements, and inspires him or her with a determined belief in Servian destiny.

The Serb woman will not take service in a strange home, though she will perform household drudgery for her own family. Neither is she found as shop assistant or in commercial positions. She will go as teacher, doctor, or in some department of state service, but will not become a domestic servant.

6. CUSTOMS—FAMILY FESTIVALS—CHRISTMAS—EASTER TRADITIONS—CEREMONIES, ETC.

One of the most important days of the year, and the most distinctive family celebration of the Serb race, is the "Slava," or celebration of the family saint. This custom is purely Servian, not found in the tradition of any other nation, and is so deeply identified with the Serb race that it is said, "Where the Slava is, there is the Serb." This custom has been taken by

certain writers and ethnologists as means of determining the nationality in some more or less mixed districts of the Balkan peninsula as in some parts of Macedonia and western Bulgaria.

The Slava, it is thought, has descended or evolved from ancestor-worship, and in pre-Christian times came to refer to a divinity who was the especial protector of each family or clan.

The rite of honouring those who have gone before, and especially in regard to ancestor-heroes, is characteristic of Serb customs and ballads.

In pagan times each family and family group had its own family god (similar to the Roman custom). When the Serb families became Christians they baptised their ancient family god along with themselves into the Christian faith and gave him a name of a saint, generally that marking the day of their own baptism, and so he became the patron saint of the family. His picture, painted or enamelled generally on a golden background in Byzantine style or flatly traced in wood, or even a lithograph, hangs on the wall of every Servian house. Before it a small oil lamp is suspended which is lighted on festival occasions.

The word "Slava" in all Slavonic tongues means glory. It is used by some of them, by the Tcheques for instance, as a word of hailing, like "Hurrah" in English. The word "Hosanna" in the Bible is translated "Slava." It is used in the verb form "slaviti" to honor a patron saint, or in a general sense "to glorify."

On the day of the Slava the Serb house is open to all; a stranger may enter and receive the same wel-

come and hospitality as that given to family or friend.

The celebration in the more remote country districts lasts for several days, part of which are given to preparation for the day itself. In the towns one day only is now kept, while in Belgrade, where great attempts have been made to introduce a "fashionableness" from other countries, the Slava has been reduced to a reception-day where some of the ancient ceremonial is still observed, such as the offering of the "Kolyivo," etc.

Throughout the country, however, the old traditionary festival is still a living force both in its mystic and social meaning. The whole ceremonial, with its formula of greetings and invocations, has been hallowed by hoary custom into almost ritualistic form.

The first act of preparation is a thorough house-cleaning. There must be no speck of dust or impurity anywhere; all must be polished and burnished to its brightest, and for every member of the family there must be fresh, pure clothing, either new or the old put in best order. Every one makes ready his or her richest and finest apparel.

A feast is prepared the important and obligatory items of which are the "Kolatch" (cake) and the Kolyivo. The Kolyivo evidently refers to an ancient rite of sacrifice, and is a plate of boiled white wheat, kneaded with nuts and honey or sugar, and iced or decorated in some way with melted or coloured sugars. It is really an offering for the souls of the dead; it is not present at the Slavas of St. Michael and St. Elias.

The other consecrated dish, the Kolatch, is a large and flat cake of wheat flour, the top marked with a cross dividing it into four quarters, the spaces containing letters indicating the device "Jesus Christ the Victor."

On the eve of the Slava a priest comes to the house, blesses the water, reads prayers for the dead, and asperges the house and its occupants with a myrtle branch dipped in the consecrated water. Messengers are sent through the village to give general invitation to the Slava or to the ceremonial of Slava eve. In towns this announcement is often given by a notice in the newspapers. The time-honoured formulæ for invitation to the beginning of the festival on Slava eve are: "We are sent to bring you greeting and to ask you to come this evening to our house; what God and our Saint have given we will not hide from you." Or the words: "We worship God and celebrate the glory of our saint Amos [saint so and so]; you are bidden to come that we may talk and drink together." The answer is: "That is not hard to accept, being asked to such honour."

Each guest on arriving on Slava eve calls out, "Master of the house, art thou ready to receive guests?" The "Svetchar," *i. e.*, the man who is the head of the family celebrating the Slava, answers, "Yes, such guests as thou," and steps forward to embrace the visitor, who says, "May thy Slava be happy!" The host answers, "And thy soul, may it be happy before God!" The guest gives an apple or quince or other fruit to the master of the house and enters. This ceremony is repeated with each new-

comer. When all are assembled the wife or daughter of the house enters, carrying a pitcher of water and a small basin and a finely embroidered towel. Coming to each in turn, she pours out a little water over the hands, letting it trickle down into the basin—they never dip their fingers into the basin. When she has gone the rounds, the guests all stand around the table, which does not contain the Kolatch or the Kolyivo, the Svetchar places a very large candle in the centre of the table and lights it. He then takes from the hands of some of the women-folks a small earthen vessel containing live charcoal, upon which he scatters incense. He first incenses the picture of the saint, then in turn each one of the guests. He says, "Brothers, let us pray," and unless there chances to be present some one possessing an especial gift of eloquent expression, they all stand with bowed heads praying in silence. After that the guests sit and begin supper. The host remains standing and serves his guests, pouring out the wine or plum brandy (slivovitza or rakia). After supper come toasts and speech-making.

In form and subject the toasts for this occasion are fixed by tradition. They number seven. The first is, "May God always help us!" The second, "For the better hour!" supposed to refer to happy meeting after death. "The glory of the Holy Trinity." The third, "May the Holy Trinity help us in all places, on our journeys on the roads, before the judges, in the forests, on the waters; the Holy Trinity guide us, reach forth to help and preserve us from all ill!" The fourth toast is offered by the guests to the host and

wishes him many years to come in which to celebrate his Slava. He answers, "You are all welcome to this house; may you be happy wherever you may be!" The fifth toast is proposed by the guests to the master of the house and to his family. The sixth is given by the Svetchar to the health and happiness of his guests—"to those who have been asked and to those who have come unbidden"; and the seventh toast is likewise proposed by the host to the health of the families of his guests. Upon this all depart to return again next morning; those who have too far to journey are invited to stay the night as guests of the house.

The celebrations of the next day—of the Slava itself—begin, unless the priest can come to the house, by the Svetchar going early to the nearest church, carrying with him the Kolyivo, Kolatch, wine, incense, and the great wax candle. These objects are placed on the altar and remain there during a service. Then the priest cuts the Slava-kolatch from the bottom side in the cuts, following the cross marked on the top of the cake. The priest and Svetchar both hold the cake, chanting certain prayers and moving the cake in rhythm as they sing; they then break it between them and where it breaks in the middle some drops of wine are poured. The priest keeps one half, the other is taken home by the Svetchar. The Kolyivo is also especially consecrated.

Where it is possible this consecration service takes place at the home of the Svetchar before sitting down to table for the great feast at noon. In that case every one present, the whole family with the guests of the eve before, their women-folk and children, take

part in the ceremony of consecration. As the priest holds the cake a person next to him holds a hand on his arm or shoulder, giving the other to the person next, the chain continuing along to half the guests, the other half forming a like chain from the side of the Svetchar. As they chant they all sway in rhythm and this formula is repeated: "Christ is in our midst now and to the ages, amen."

The half of the broken cake is placed on the table with a wax candle lighted on or by it. The guests then swing the incense-burner before each other, cross themselves, and await in silence, still standing, for the Svetchar to speak. "Brothers, let us now drink to the eternal glory of God; wherever and whenever that glory is honoured and mentioned by men, there and always may it help us, God grant it." The persons present answer in chorus, "May God give it." One of them then sings, "May God and His Glory forever help him who drinks to the Glory of God. What is more beauteous to see on this earth than Glory of God and bread that is earned!"

The glasses are filled; the Svetchar says: "We have drunk to God's glory; let us drink to the honour of Holy Cross and of our Christian names. God give that we never forget the names of our christening; let us honour them always in His name!" Then again, all standing, the Svetchar proposes the third toast to the honour of the Holy Trinity, with the same invocation as is usual in naming the Holy Trinity—"for help in all times, in all places, that every Christian be blessed in his home, in his work, on his journeys in dark forests and on the seas, may the Holy Trinity help us!"

Then the wife or daughter of the Svetchar hands the Kolyivo from a tray to each of the guests, who in taking a spoonful of the wheat, nuts, and honey, pronounces a benediction for health, wealth, and joy to the family. The guests then sit down to the feast of which the chief viand is, in summer, roast lamb, or, in winter, a suckling pig. If the Slava should come during fasting time, the *pièce de résistance* is fish roasted on layers of onions and red peppers. They fall to with great heartiness, with laughter and fun-making. Songs are sung now and then; jokes are cracked; pranks are played. Sometimes one rises to offer some toast or make a short speech. The old national ballads are recited, recounting the great deeds of national heroes and tales of the old Servian kings who ruled in might and majesty. After dinner-time is dancing of the "Kolo" to music of flute or bagpipe or to that played by gipsies. The festival is kept up in many districts for two days, during which time the great candle continues to burn. The custom used to be that the rolling out of an empty wine barrel was the signal that the festivities were at an end; in Bosna-Hertzegovina and Dalmatia, where the wine was kept in skins, the hint was conveyed by an empty skin, flat and folded, put up on a table. The guests, on taking leave, congratulate the host and pray that he may yet live many years to celebrate his saint in such good fashion. During the rejoicings at the Slava, as on other occasions of celebrations or ceremonies, pistol-shots are fired in the air.

Every village also has its patron saint, or saint to which it owes a vow, which is celebrated in much the

same manner as the family Slava, and is called "Zavetima," from Zavet (vow). The host being one of the most important men in the village, the Kolyivo is used, but the greater part of the ceremonies take place in church. In case the Zavetima should fall some time between Easter and the end of June, the ceremony is called "Carrying of the Cross" ("Nossiti Krsta").

In the vicinity of the village, at different points, grow trees which bear, deeply cut into their bark, a large cross. The tree is generally a lime tree—the sacred Slavonic tree—or oak or wild fruit tree. These trees are sacred, must not be cut down nor injured in any way, or if they bear fruit the fruit must not be gathered.

For the carrying of the cross the villagers assemble under one such tree, and after prayer they form a procession headed by a young man carrying a very large wooden cross. Immediately after him goes the priest, richly vested, bearing the Holy Scriptures preciously bound. The more prominent villagers follow two by two, each carrying the icon or picture of his saint from his own house. The rest of the population follows also in double file, forming a long procession which winds slowly through the meadows and hills and among the trees, chanting over and over again the refrain, "The cross-bearers implore, God have mercy!" As the procession comes to each sacred tree, they kneel while the priest invokes Almighty God to bless the villagers with happiness and prosperity. The priest then cuts afresh the bark of the tree where it was before marked with the cross, and the procession proceeds on its way. As with all

Servian festivities and celebrations, the villagers fire off their pistols as they go along.

When the solemn procession is over the villagers who have brought food and wine hold an immense picnic, which is the occasion of merry-making, dancing, singing, games, and contests of strength.

Marriage.—Because of the fact that marriages so rarely occur between inhabitants of the same village, and because of the severe rules that guard young girls, matches are generally arranged between the parents of the young people, who have not much opportunity of falling in love before marriage. However, romances resulting in runaway matches, or a kind of kidnapping ending in marriage, sometimes occur. An old song recounts how that two girls, dear friends together, were married and went to homes far separate from each other. One finds that she loves her husband, but fears that the other may not be happy. So she goes out into the garden at night alone and says: "O bright and beautiful star, tell me is my sweet companion happy in her new home?" The star answers: "The people of her new family are happy, all except her young husband. He is not happy; there is no joy for him." Then the girl answers: "Go, sweet star, greet for me my dear friend; my mother knows where the magic plants grow which will turn the heart of my dear sister to her lord. I will send her these; she will then find gladness in her new home!"

There were, by the census of 1905, in Servia, about eight hundred women to every thousand men.

When the son of a house is come to full young manhood his father begins to look out for a young girl who would make him a suitable wife. Through a third party the inclinations of the girl's parents are sounded, and when he is convinced that the marriage would be agreeable, he sets out with a friend or two to ask the parents formally for the girl's hand. He takes a bunch of flowers, a cake of wheaten flour, and some coins. He arrives at about the time of the evening meal, the girl's father receives him and his friends at the table, and after his demand, expressed with ceremony, a show is made by the master of the house of consulting with his wife, who is bidden to ask the daughter what her inclinations are. The father meanwhile pours red wine for his guests; they all drink with an invocation that God will guide them according to His will. The young girl is brought into the room by her brother or a near male relative and led up to the one for whose son she is destined. She bows and kisses his hand, then kisses the hand of the others, and finally of her father. The father of her future husband offers her the flowers and the coins with wishes for her happiness. In accepting the flowers she bows low to him again and kisses his hand, and that "taking of the money" engages her troth. After the girl leaves the room some of the men fire off pistol-shots in the court-yard to announce the engagement. The father of the young man puts down a piece of gold "as price paid for the girl," according to ancient custom. The two fathers embrace and count each other from that time as relatives. They arrange all details for the wedding. Custom wills

that the bridegroom's father shall make gifts to the bride's women relatives and to herself, and that he shall furnish the wedding-gown. When the engagement ring is brought by friends and relatives of the bride's future family, it is an occasion of festivities for the young of both sexes, but the bridegroom is not present.

Karitch and Militchevitch and other writers have described the wedding cavalcade and its ceremonies.

On the wedding day or a day or so before, according to the distance separating the homes of bride and groom, very early in the morning, the young man's friends gather at his father's house in great spirit, and after a short repast, taken with many toasts and good wishes, they mount their horses, fire their pistols into the air, and merrily start for the home of the bride. They are armed and with them goes a standard-bearer and a voyvoda, or commander. The horses have been gaily decked with flowers and streamers, sometimes have hung on them bright handkerchiefs richly embroidered, and other gifts by the villagers, who are all interested in the wedding and are each and all anxious to contribute something to the gladness of the event. At the head of the cavalcade rides a young man on a horse with gay trappings, carrying the "Choutura," or flat wooden jug of red wine, which is also decked with flowers, an embroidered hand-towel, and hung with chains of bright silver coins. It is the rôle of this wine-bearer to offer wine to all persons who may be met on the way and to make fun and jokes on the journey and during the whole time of the wedding rejoicings.

He is the clown of the occasion. His jokes are not always in the best taste, for he is free to say what he pleases and to whom he pleases so long as he is amusing or droll. The bride and the groom are not exempt from his sallies, and he uses his privileges to the full.

After him come the standard-bearer and the voyvoda, who has strict military command of the whole cavalcade. Next come the bride's-maids, near relatives of the groom. They bring presents to the bride, with flowers, and her wedding-dress sent by the father of the future husband. Then rides the bridegroom with his "Koom," or first witness, on his right side, and the "Stari-svat," the second witness, on the left; then riding two by two the rest of the wedding guests. The bride awaits them surrounded by her family and friends; her young girl friends, grouped by twos, sing songs of epithalamium, simple in words but relating the emotions of mother and daughter, their pain at parting, their looking forward to new happiness. The girls dance and make merry about her.

Many pistol and gun shots tell of the arrival of the bridegroom's cavalcade. They are welcomed with music often played by gipsies, and invited to the table, which is richly furnished with good things.

The bride's-maids lead the bride into one of the Vayats (huts or pavilions) that surround the main house, and there they dress her in her wedding-gown and make her ready for the ceremony. A brother or near male relative waits at the door to hand her out. Her appearance in the garden or court-yard is greeted by volleys of shots fired into the air by the bridegroom's friends. The girls give her a coronal of flowers and

show her where the groom stands; she looks through it toward him, then goes through the ceremony of kissing the hands of all the men guests, beginning with the Koom and Stari-svat. She then is conducted with ceremony to the large central room, where she finds her father and mother seated before the fire; she bends down and kisses the hearthstone, makes obeisance to her parents, kissing their hands, and receives their embrace and their blessing.

Her brother, who has conducted her through all this ceremonial, confides her to the keeping of the "Dever," whose special duty it is to protect her until she is safely arrived in the home of her husband.

The husband's cavalcade then mount their horses with the bride and set out for the church. The Dever leads the bride to the altar and gives her away.

A curious custom exacts that on coming to the home of her husband she must step to a sack of grain, then to a plough, and then to the entrance to the court-yard, where a boy babe is given into her arms by a woman. She lifts the babe high in the air, kisses it, and returns it to the one who gave it to her. She then receives bread and red wine, and with those emblems enters her new home.

She is awaited on the hearth before the central fire by her parents-in-law; they greet her with ceremony, lead her around the fire, and the mother gives her a shovel with which she heaps together the bright coals that had been scattered on the hearth. Then comes the great wedding feast to which all the villagers have

done honour by contributing to its rich store. The bride's gifts are distributed by a woman before the guests take places at the tables.

The Choutura-bearer, the "jester" of the wedding, begins his nonsense by describing in comic terms in a loud voice the presents which the bride has brought to the Koom, the Stari-svat, and various members of her new family, and so on he continues, bantering and poking fun at each one in turn during all the festivities. After the banquet the time passes in dance and song, laughing and talking, reciting, etc. At nightfall the Koom goes with the bridegroom to the Vayat, or hut prepared for him, and afterward the young wife is conducted there by the Dever, who hands her to the Koom, who in turn places her hand in that of the young husband and goes away.

Death and Burial.—To the Servian, whose many invocations during the daily round of events show him to think of himself as in constant communication or connection with the denizens of the unseen, whether God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, saints, nymphs, or other spirits, evil or benign, death seems to bring no terrors.

A well-known New York divine (Rev. Canon Starr), on Easter morning of this year, in the New York Pro-Cathedral, said to the crowded congregation before him: "You all, every one of you, know from circumstantial evidence that you are going some day to die, but not one of you *believes* it. If you did your life would in some way be different from what it is."

The Servians, in adopting Christianity, took it in many instances in a literal or child-like sense. They believed it. The atmosphere of prayer in which he lives from morning to night, and the continual attitude of asking God's help in every act and relation of his daily existence, form a constant reminder to the Servian of the ephemeral nature of this life's business. He takes as a matter of course what one might call his relativity to the eternalities, which, to his mind, are no less a part of reality than are the changing things of the seen world.

He shows no fear of death. When death is near he asks forgiveness of all present, or should he be unconscious at that moment, they one by one pronounce forgiveness in the name of God, making the response they would have uttered had he been able to ask the pardon.

Some of the burial rites and beliefs concerning the soul after death show a simple acceptance of Christ as the Prototype. Others point to traditions of ages far past, to a time when Dabog, the Sungod, and purification by fire were the governing conceptions of the race.

As the ancestral cinerary urns of antiquity bear witness to the Slav custom of burning the dead, so some fragmentary remains of that ancient rite are suggested in the burial ceremony still observed in many districts among the Serbs.

The details of the ritual vary, but the intention expressed is the same.

Before the body is placed in the coffin a fire is made in it with sulphur and gunpowder and wisps

of tow. The same is done to the grave before burial, and at sunset of the day women once more go to the closed tomb and burn upon it the same elements. When the body is lowered, coins are thrown in—recalling the objects in bronze found in the cinerary urns of the Veneds. Each one present casts in a handful of earth, begging the soul which is starting on its journey to carry messages to those among the loved ones or friends who have passed on into the world beyond. These messages are quite simple and natural, words of love and greeting, such as would be confided to some one of the living who might be setting out to a distant part of the country. Another custom of apparently pagan origin is that of giving "feasts for the soul of the departed."

First, on the day of burial a bullock or sheep is slain, showing the idea of sacrifice, and its roasted flesh is eaten by those attending the funeral as the first "feast for the soul." At that feast, after prayer has been offered and the guests have passed the burning incense among themselves, swinging it one to another, there is handed around, the dish of boiled wheat, or Kolyivo, which has been consecrated by the priest. Some of this food, with red wine, is put on a table in the room where the death occurred, in case the soul, not yet ascended, should feel hungry. This may derive from old tradition, but it may also be suggested from Christ's eating the broiled fish with his disciples in the early morn, by the shore of Galilee, after his burial and resurrection but before his ascension.

The ceremonial at this first banquet is expressive

and shows the instinct for the beautiful in the Slavonic soul.

A friend or relative capable of presiding has been asked to be master of the feast, and stands at the head of the table—all stand during the ceremonies which initiate the feast. It falls to him to pray for the soul that is about to leave the earth, and to express in the name of all the assemblage tokens of affection and regard for it and sympathy for those left behind. Meanwhile, the women relatives, preceded by the dearest, have come softly into the room, and, with hair falling loose over the shoulders, they stand silently back of the master, with their heads slightly drooped to one side and their hands to their hips, recalling the pose of statuettes found near the old cinerary burial grounds in Bosnia. When he has finished speaking they begin to file in procession around the table, their leader wailing and the others grieving in low, rhythmic murmurs. An old woman from among the funeral guests comes forward, puts her arms around the mourner, and says: "Grieve no more; it is God's will. Think! as thy dear one has gone, so must we all go! May God grant long life to those who still remain to thee!"

The women wear no flowers or jewels during the year of mourning, and go often to the tomb to wail and ask God's forgiveness for the soul of the dead. They give a ritualistic sense to this wailing, which is done rhythmically, crooning in unison or in a sad, monotonous melody. It is sometimes chanted in spontaneous verse.

On the day following the burial the house is thor-

oughly cleansed and the objects used in the cleansing burned.

According to a belief relating to Christ, they think that the soul lingers on the earth as He did for forty days after death, visiting its old haunts, and finally, that it goes on the fortieth day to Jerusalem whence it ascends to its place in the skies.

That fortieth day is the occasion of one of the feasts for the soul, the last of which marks the anniversary of the death.

Pobratimstvo (Brotherhood) and Posestrinstvo (Sisterhood).—An old Servian custom still surviving in many districts is the adoption by two men or boys of each other as "brother," or by girls as "sister," or sometimes by two of different sex as brother and sister. The brother, in that case, would be a relative of the girl, too near in blood, according to Servian usage, to marry or admit of any but fraternal affections between the two. It would be sacrilege and illegal for them to marry. This system is and was the literal application of the Christian principle of "brotherhood," developed into an institution during the bitterest times of oppression by a foreign foe. Two young men going into battle bound themselves as brothers in ties of close fealty which endured through all trials. The oath of fidelity for life, was sworn, before the altar in the church and consecrated by the priest, and often sealed by the exchange of a drop of blood drunk in a cup of red wine. If one died the surviving one was, in all respects, like a true brother to the family of his dead "pobratim." This tie is considered most sacred by Servians and cannot be

broken no matter how severely it may be tried by any circumstances that may arise. It is recognised by a law conferring right of inheritance as well as family obligations. Milosh Obrenovich, of the war of Servian liberation, was the pobratim of the Turkish commander Ali Aga Sertchesma, a Mohammedan Servian, who was afterward opposed to him in battle. When the Aga's army was vanquished, Milosh was a brother to him and protected his personal life, liberty, and property, as he in similar circumstances protected Milosh's life.

The relationships of father, mother, sister, brother are peculiarly sacred to Servians.

The principle of "the brotherhood of man," not as a theory but as a daily life-motive, is manifested in many Servian institutions. The Moba is the gathering together by spontaneous consent of neighbours to help one another either to put in his crops or to harvest them, especially in the case of widows and poor farmers who have not the necessary help on their farm and are too poor to hire such. Like many other Servian reunions, for one cause or another the Moba is made the occasion of hearty co-operation (entirely gratuitous) in work and winds up with merry-making.

When the day's work is done the social part of the proceedings are ushered in with hand-washing, which is always done by pure water being poured on the hands. Then in some districts they stand around a tree and gaze up toward a lighted candle stuck high in its branches; they pray God for his benediction and

honour the Holy Trinity; the rest is free-hearted fun, feasting, dance, and song. The spread is furnished by dishes, cakes, meats, fruits, wine, nuts, sweets, etc., a small share of which is brought by each and every member of the Moba gathering.

A quaint and curious custom still found in some parts of Servia is the "Dodola," certainly a survival from remote pagan times, when the children of men were the children of nature and felt themselves in very near communion with the trees and hills and the forces of sun, wind, and water.

Personified into gods, the first of all the most high, or "Sve-Vishnyi," "Dabog," or "God the giver" (the verb *dati* means to give), was the sun. Peroun was the Thunderer and Lightning-wielder, and his sister personified Fire, the modern "Mary of the fire." Certain plants and flowers were sacred; the purple iris, "the flower of Peroun," is found everywhere in Servia. Dodola has in her keeping the rain and waters of springs and streams. If the summer heat is excessive and has scorched up the fields and dried up the streams, the villagers still to-day invoke Dodola. A young gipsy girl is employed to lead in the rite; the Servian peasant-maids are too modest to themselves play the rôle. This gipsy girl is stripped down to the costume of a savage, and thus, almost stark naked, is wreathed and has her body and waist entwined with willow and other green branches stuck with blossoms, until she is practically clad in flower-bedecked verdure. In this guise she leads a procession of young village girls, in the blazing mid-day heat, by all the houses, dancing and posing as she

goes, while the girls in her train chant in rhythm an old song, ending every verse with the words:

This our Doda begs of God
Oi Dodo, oi Dodole!
Send a downpour of sharp rain
Oi Dodo, oi Dodole!
To soft bedew afresh the fields
Oi Dodo, oi Dodole!
And so renew the stream of life
Oi Dodo, oi Dodole!
etc., etc.

As the procession passes the houses, children and young girls pour water over Dodola, and so, they say, the cooling drops will soon begin to fall from the skies.[1]

Fire.—Many fundamental conceptions relating to prosperity and the good fortune of the home-group centre about the idea of the fire that burns on the family hearth.

The customs arising from these ideas vary somewhat in form, but are all expressive of the sacredness of family life and the symbolism of fire as the life-giving and purifying agent. It is as if these people still linger under some thrill of the great portent to humankind which came in prehistoric ages with the discovery of fire.

The hearth is in the centre of the largest room; the logs rest on iron andirons which are composed either of two pieces, one wrought with a cock's head at the top, the other with the head of a snake; or sometimes

[1] Dodola recalls Botticelli's famous picture called "Spring," where the engarlanded maid receives the enigmatic squirt of water.

the andiron is one large piece used as a backing or a support for the logs, and is then wrought in the form of a standing bull, horse, or other domestic animal.

Fire is obtained for the family hearth according to a rite and is called the "living fire." The ceremony is obtained by the friction of two pieces of dry lime wood and the use of dry tow or punk of the oak tree. Some words of invocation begin the action, but during it, until the sparks appear, no word must be spoken. There are four or five different forms of performing this rite, the most modern of which is that a carpenter produces the fire with his turning-machine and sells it to the villagers. The essential point to the people is that the fire for the hearth must not be made with matches or in any other way than by rubbing together two pieces of dry wood.

This "living fire," as it is called, is believed to be part of the "Eternal" Holy Fire. It must not be blown with the mouth, and must never be allowed to die out on the hearth except in case of pestilence or infectious malady in the house. In case of epidemic the fires of the whole village are put out, the hearth cleansed, and with great ceremony of a religious nature new "living fire" is obtained and the family hearths all relighted.

When a bride comes to her new home, after she has been guided by the Koom or her mother-in-law three times around the hearth, and heaped together the scattered coals as a sign of union and force, she strikes the burning logs with the shovel, trying to beat out as great a cloud of sparks as possible, say-

ing: "So many sparks, so many cattle; so many sparks, so many children."

At Christmas, at Easter, on all holidays, and on the occasion of marriage or burial, fire is the centre of much ceremonial.

On St. John's day great fires are lighted in the meadows or on the hillsides, and the boys and girls dance around them in rings to bagpipes, flutes, or gipsy music, singing and making merry.

Prelo and Selo.—The Prelo and the Selo are two occasions of reunion when the villagers, men, women, girls, and boys foregather at the house of one of them to work in one way or another, and afterward sit around the fire with distaff, wool-carders, or needlework, amusing themselves meanwhile with the telling of old tales, singing, and reciting. A short story by Janko Veselinovich, a writer who depicts most truthfully the Servian village life, gives a homely, charming picture of such a gathering and shows the etiquette that rules on such occasions. In the centre is the great fire of logs over which a large pot of green, sweet corn hangs boiling for the evening's cheer, and higher up the hams and bacon, beef sides or sheep flesh are suspended to smoke.

In a ring nearest the fire are the young girls behaving themselves with exemplary silence and modesty in the presence of their elders, communicating with each other only with eyes and in whispers, and giggling low among themselves; back of them are ranged the young married women, work in hand, chattering and amusing themselves, together with the oldest of the women who form still another

outside ring. Filling the room back of these ranges of women-folk are the men and boys. The conversation is general, the girls in front joining in the talk of their elders only when directly addressed. One of the boys is asked to repeat a ballad or read from a book which he has brought in his pocket; then they listen to one of the oldest women tell tales of days when she was young. Some of the men tell a story or an experience; then the girls are asked to sing, which sets them in a flutter of modesty and delight, that is, they are shy at being brought forward yet enchanted to respond.

Finally, the party breaks up; the visitors from other villages take leave more ceremoniously, the older ones glad to go to bed. There is a general wishing of "good night," a moment where all the company mix freely together, young and old. During that brief confusion a young man from a distant village finds a chance to whisper to one of the girls, "Come an instant into the garden! I want to tell you something!" She turns red and says under breath, "I cannot!" He says, "You must!" "No, I—" "Yes, yes," he says, and snatching the thread from the spindle he darts outside. She flies after him with the end of the thread, saying: "Give me my spindle! What have you done? What will they think?" As he puts the spindle in her hand he shuts his own tight over it. "You must listen! I love you—no one but you! They want to make a marriage for me with some one else, but it is you I want. I feel I shall die unless they give me you. My people would be glad, too, I know—otherwise I shall die!" The girl half pulls

back, but answers with low and quick words: "Yes! yes!—I know!—I know!—I, too—I feel so for you. My parents—they are talking of marriage for me—if they could only think of you they would not object!—but oh! I never knew I could say such things to a stranger!"

He draws her up to him an instant before she flies back to the others, and says: "Only think—God give it!—how it will be—when we are married—and can kiss each other!"

Christmas and Easter.—The Servians begin the celebrations of Christ's birthday, as do other Christians, on Christmas eve; they, too, have a custom concerned with the Yule-log. Christmas eve is called "Badnyi dan." On that day some young men go at early dawn into the forest; there they offer a prayer, and when they have chosen the tree they wish it "Merry Christmas eve," or rather, as they say, "Happy Badnyi dan." Casting a handful of wheat against it, they cut it down, letting it fall eastward as the sun rises. The tree is then cut into logs, large and small, and carted home.

On arriving at the house the logs are set against the wall outside; they are called "Badnyiak." The largest one, or Yule-log, is the subject of some conventional ceremony. The children sing carols through the village. In the evening, when all is ready for the Christmas feast, the members of the household gather around the great family hearth in the central room or large kitchen. The Domatchina, wife of the housefather, gives a pair of knitted gloves to the strongest of the young men. He puts them on and goes out

and brings in the Badnyiak, or Yule-log. As he enters he is showered with wheat and says: "Merry Christmas to all!" and is answered by like greeting from the others: "Happy, holy Christmas help thee!" According to the districts, different rites prevail in greeting the Yule-log; some baptize it with wine and drink a toast in wine to it; sometimes it is anointed with oil or honey, or wheat is showered over it and it is placed on the large fire so that one end cannot burn.

Then takes place a kind of game by the mother and the children, she scattering straw in all the rooms and imitating the cackling of a hen—"chok! chock!" the children trotting after her in great glee and saying, "Peep! peep!" pretending to be her little chickens.

A large candle is stuck into a jar of wheat and set up high on the east side of the room, the family assemble before it, the father, or Stareshina, crosses himself and offers up prayers to God for the health and prosperity of his family, and asks a benediction for all the creatures of the farm and for the crops, that they may all flourish and yield their best. Then, bowing toward the candle, all cross themselves, and the father then turns to the others and says: "God hear our prayer and give us health"; they answer, "May God give it, amen!"

The evening meal is taken without meat, but is chiefly of nuts, fruits, cheese, vegetables, cake, and sweetmeats, and in some places not from a table but with every one sitting on the floor. During the repast the father throws a nut into each corner of the room,

saying: "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, amen."

Christmas day is a day of extraordinary rejoicings. Everybody is up early, while it is barely light, and the coming day is saluted by guns and pistols fired into the air. This continual popping of shots continues throughout the day, and would recall to an American the gunpowder celebrations of the "Glorious Fourth." There is a great to-do putting the suckling pig on the fire to roast. Before sunrise a girl goes to bring the day's first water from the spring or stream, which she salutes with Christmas wishes and baptises with a handful of wheat; with that water the Christmas cake is made. A coin is put into the cake, which brings good luck to the one getting the piece that contains it, like the "gâteau des rois" in France.

An essential part of the traditionary ceremony is the coming of the "Polaznik"—literally the "comer," who is a young boy of a neighbouring village. No "comer," however privileged, must enter the house before him. He arrives at an early hour, and as the door is opened to him he cries out, "Christ is born!" —(Christos se rodi) and throws wheat over the whole room, over the persons, and toward all the four corners. The mother, or Domatchina, throws wheat back over him, and every one present answers, "He is born in truth."

The Polaznik then goes to the hearth and with the shovel strikes streams of sparks from the Badnyiak, and says: "May you have this year thus many cattle, horses, oxen, hogs, sheep, your hives full of honey, good luck, prosperity, all good and joy." The house-

father then embraces and kisses the boy, who prostrates himself before the hearth, touches the unburnt end of the Badnyiak with his lips, and places a coin upon it. The ceremony after this depends on the particular district and the special calling of the inhabitants, but forms are gone through symbolic of the good fortune that is desired for the persons present, whether tillers of the soil or raisers of cattle or workers at some cottage craft. Presents are offered to the Polaznik who is a cherished guest for the day. Finally, before sitting down to the great Christmas dinner, the members of the household all stand with lighted candles around the master of the house, while he prays, asking aloud blessings according to their needs, and speaking in praise of the Holy Trinity and Christ. A sacred song is sung, then all the persons kiss each other, saying: "The peace of God be between us. Christ is born. Let us bow before Christ and his Nativity!"

Then comes the feast, beginning with a toast to "The glory of Christ the Lord." When the dinner is about over they all rise and drink to "The glory of God and to the glory of Christ's birth."

Easter.—Easter is kept much as it is in other Christian lands. The fasting of Lent is very strictly kept, and a mass is celebrated in the church at midnight. The priest comes forward at a certain moment after midnight and says in a loud voice: "Christos voskress!" ("Christ is risen!") The people answer: "Vaistinye, amen!" ("He is in truth!") Easter day and during the first three days of Easter week the form of greeting, instead of being "good day" ("dobar

dan"), is "Christos voskress," the other persons answering according to the formula. Easter eggs are used as in other lands, coloured gaily; presents are given; there is open house and strangers or wayfarers are welcomed. The dead are not forgotten; some eggs coloured black are carried to the graves and left there in token of the resurrection day.

Music, Song, Dance.—In times of comparative peace the Servian home life developed rapidly the comfort and well-being of the people. Protected by the Zadruga principle of co-operation and united resources, the houses which had been burnt and the fields which had been devastated, by Byzantine or Turkish soldiers, were soon rebuilt and replenished. The willing hands of every member, male and female, wrought to re-establish the community home with the maximum of comfort and security that could possibly, under any circumstances, have been produced by the number of persons composing the Zadruga. It was often found necessary to abandon the wreckage of the old village, to seek a new site, or to go to another, sometimes distant, part of the country. There, working all together, by degrees, new walls were set up, new fields ploughed and planted, and by and by new granaries built. The women spun and wove fresh stores of clothing, new household linen, new rugs and Tchelim hangings, and so those who had been driven into the wilds by fire and sword remade their homes.

Wholesale destruction from hunger and exposure was, by these methods of meeting calamity, staved off and avoided. Bodily necessity was always met

practically, and in course of time more or less well provided for.

So the Servian songs, ballads, and epics treat less of the miseries of hunger and cold than of the heart's anguish for dear ones gone to battle or those killed in the fight; or of the soldier's return to find his home nothing but charred walls, his wife carried off captive, his little ones killed or taken away into slavery, his mother having been trampled under the hoofs of the enemy's horses.

The remembrance of such fearsome happenings was put into rhythmic verse by men and by women, and chanted to the mournful sound of the Gouzla. Courage and strength and fearlessness, the yearning to be free, loyalty to the blood in the veins, faith in a just and Holy God above all, who would help and save the few in the day of their defence against the merciless hosts of the spoiler; hatred of falseness and treachery; the proud tale of loyalty unto death and through death—in the old ballads and songs all of these heart-strainings give forth their music, plaintive or passionate, scornful or grand. Echoes of noble days and high achievement vibrate in those ballads which recount the tales of dead kings—not dead in Servian hearts. Full of powerful depicting and mournful grandeur, of sweet, solemn cadence and plaint, are the epics. They tell of the mediæval Servian empire and its dawning glories; of days of Servian grandeur; of the battle of Kossovo (June 15, 1389), where the horses of the Turkish hosts stood so packed together that "not a drop of rain could have fallen to the earth between them," their lances a quiv-

ering sheet of "flame in the summer sun, their many-coloured silken banners fluttering like far-stretching fields of bright tulips," and on the Servian side, horsemen hastening across hills from every quarter, the gathering of heroes to Tzar Lazar; their kneeling at sunrise before his wide silken tent to take the Holy Communion; the onrush of the countless Turkish foe; the terrific clash and fury of battle; the fierce and stubborn contest between Christian and Turk; at one moment the stain of treachery; deeds of sublime courage and skill on both sides; then the slaying of the Ottoman Sultan by the hand of a Servian hero self-immolated; the beautiful Militza, Empress of Tzar Lazar, leaning from her window in the white tower of Krushevatz, where two black ravens fly to bring her news of Kossovo; how the "Noble Tzar" has been stricken low "on that part of the field where all the flower of Servian heroes lie in slain heaps," and the great Servian empire is fallen, its glory departed—as when the sun sinks from the horizon.

From that sad time, through all the dark and gruesome years of ceaseless, undaunted resistance to the Turk, who, even after Kossovo, was compelled to fight for Servian soil inch by inch, and could not enter as conqueror without still a hundred years and more of continual warfare—even then, was never entirely master of the land—the Servian women and men chanted the remembrance of their national woes in rhythmic verse, kept green and ever living the thought of departed Servian glory. From those songs and epic poems sprouted new hope, and through long centuries of Turkish oppression that hope, and the

certain faith that his race and nation must survive and finally reconquer its lost freedom, has never ceased to be to the Servian the fixed star of his soul.

This longing for freedom and looking forward confidently to the hour of its attainment run like a *leit-motif* through all the cycles of song and ballad up to our own time; in the Servian lands, which are still in thrall, such songs are made and sung to-day. Though in Austria-Hungary they are forbidden under heavy pain, the mothers still murmur them low in the ears of their babes. It seems strange that the Servians, freighted with such burden, and whose hope must look so far ahead—it has waited through centuries—can yet show so much capacity for the hearty enjoyment of simple pleasures. They make a curious picture, these reunions of which there are so many, always beginning with prayer to God for safety and help; and after that, as if all serious matters were thereby put in safe-keeping, there is the whole-hearted giving of themselves up to "having a good time," if one may so express it. The table is spread, and afterward dance and song, reciting of ballads or tales. Whatever wrestling or other games or contests of strength there may be among the boys and young men, there is always sure to be continual dancing and song. The Kolo, which in some form is the usual dance, is as "old as the hills."

It is danced to music of flutes, single flutes or double, and bagpipes, or gipsy music with violins. In other days the dancers sang as they danced. Some dances are still sung. In the Kolo the girls and boys, men and women form a line and take hands,

or rest a hand on each neighbour's shoulder or hold by the belt; in a long chain they circle, stepping in rhythmic unison, now this way, now that, or running forward and back. If in the forest, they circle around and among the trees; and even when in a more restricted scene, they move the whole line in one direction or another, according to fancy or the skill of the leaders. Each region has its own interpretation of the Kolo, and its own dances. In Montenegro and Old Servia there is a Kolo sword dance to wild and martial strains. It is sometimes partly sung and recited, with rhythmic gesture. The Serb loves to sing. It is customary for the young Serb countryman to carry a flute ("svirala"), or the double flute, the "devoynitza," in his belt with his knife and pistol, and to play as he goes along, especially in the evening or early morning. To-day the Servian shepherd plays his pipe as they did in "Arcadie"!

The villagers sing as they work, men and women, girls and boys, whether at home or in the fields, and their songs express the feelings of their heart at the time being. The women especially constantly compose new melodies, or, rather, they invent them spontaneously to suit their mood or fancy. Each district has its songs as it has its dances.

In addition to the bagpipes, used most often in the eastern part of Servia, and the flutes and double flutes and the Gouzla, dedicated to the accompaniment of chanted ballads and epic verse, the Serbs of Bosnia, and those near the Bosnian side of Servia, draw sweet tones from a kind of lute with metal strings. To its accompaniment they sing the slow and plain-

tive love songs, and use it for poetic rhapsody. It is called "Tambura." It is widely used and has given its name to many musical societies and singing clubs, called "Tamburashi," among the young folks.

Before leaving the subject of "song and dance," it is interesting to note the custom of dancing and singing around the church. The Servians (Orthodox) do not regard their church or priesthood with any superstitious awe, though they would die for their church, which is the sacred guardian of their national faith. From her they ask consecrations of their acts, whether relating to the individual, family, or to national affairs. As to prayer, that is mostly a home affair, a matter of course, like daily bread, as is seen in the many daily invocations.

The Serbs are at home with their church as they are with nature. On great feast days the villagers gather around the outside of the church where service is held, and there they dance and sing songs of the occasion. So they gather there if some important national movement or insurrection is to be set on foot.

The ceremonial music of the Servian, as of all Orthodox churches, is beautiful and impressive. It is sung by voices alone, unaccompanied by any instrument. It is based on the music, probably Greek, that was used with the earliest Greek ritual. It is said that the Servian priests of Mount Athos (Hilendar Monastery) began as early as the tenth and eleventh centuries to add to that music. The natural tendency of the Servians to give musical expression to their sentiments, or to the emotions which stir them deeply, has led to a Servianising of the music of

their church. In the same spirit they use their own language in the services, and they have modified the ritual to their needs, until the Servian churches came early to be to the nation what the central hearth-fire is to the home.

One hearing this Servian church music for the first time cannot but experience a strange thrill. The singers are hidden from view. At first it seems unbelievable that the music proceeds from human voices alone. The sounds are there of deep and vibrating 'cellos, and of the sweetly drawn chords of fine violins, and columns of sound as from an organ. The mind is held in an impression of the voices and cries of all life. The whole utterance of the human soul is there, a striving between the earthly and the heavenly man, in its most primitive as well as in its most solemn and sublime expression. This music is not as something listened to of which one would say, "That was well done," but this music of the Servian church is as the mighty moving of forces which suddenly embody the whole inner life and lift it toward God in the spirit of worship.

PART II

THE SERVIAN LANDS TO-DAY

CHAPTER II

GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

THE block of territory forming the north-western and central parts of the Balkan Peninsula, of which the population is Servian, speaking the Servian tongue, is politically divided into: The independent Kingdom of Servia and the Principality of Montenegro; the Austro-Hungarian province of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Austrian province of Dalmatia with part of Istria; the Hungarian provinces of Croatia-Slavonia, Banat, and Batchka; and the Turkish province of Old Servia—*i. e.*, Vilayet of Kossovo, Sandjak of Novi Bazar, parts of the Vilayets of Monastir and of Salonika.

This large area is bounded on the west by the eastern shores of the Adriatic Sea from near Trieste to Antibari opposite the Italian Bari. The boundary on the north is the uncertainly defined line which coincides with the political line dividing Croatia from the Austrian provinces of Carniolia and Styria, up to the river Mur, thence following eastward the river Mur to its confluence with the river Drava, and along the Drava to the point where it pours into the Danube, thence on easterly in a straight line up to the western spurs of the Transylvanian Ore Mountains. The eastern border starting at that point descends to and crosses the Danube, and proceeds thence southward

along the border between Bulgaria and Servia, to the head-waters of the Struma, and along the Struma to Seres, in Macedonia, at that point striking the southern boundary which forms an uncertainly defined line due west to the Albanian eastern border. From there a line must be drawn to the Black Drin River due north in order to proceed again westward with the southern boundary line of this great block of Serb-inhabited territory through Skutari Lake to Dulcigno and Antivari, on the Adriatic Sea, called at that point the Servian Sea.

This Serb territory covers an approximate area of 100,000 square miles.

The vast and complicated mountain formations of the area belong to five different systems: The Dinaric in the north-west, the Albanian in the west and south, the Carpathians in the north-east, the Balkans in the east, and the Rhodope in the south-east. All of these vast mountain systems, with their multiple ranges, trend generally toward the central region of this Servian-inhabited block of territory, where they knot themselves together, forming the great watershed of the peninsula, and presenting between the inaccessible heights of the mountain ranges, precipitous gorges, deeply cut valleys, and high plateaux.

The eastern and western masses are so disposed as to form, between long stretches of ranges narrowly parallel with each other, the two great natural roads of the Balkan Peninsula. One of these two great natural highways from the Danube due south forms the valley of the Morava River, in Servia, and its con-

tinuation across the low watershed of Preshevo to the valley of the Vardar River, in Turkey, and that river's course to the Ægean Sea near Salonika. This longitudinal valley from the Danube due north and south to the Ægean Sea forms in southern Servia the basin of Nish, whence starts the other great natural Balkan road leading from that point to Constantinople between the parallel ranges of the Balkan Mountains and the Rhodope ranges which lie east and west. Through this valley flows the Maritza River. This great branching highway, opening passage across the entire Balkan Peninsula north to south, and from its fork at Nish throughout the whole length eastward, forms the valleys of the three most important rivers south of the Danube; they are not the results of erosion, but are a succession of natural narrow plains between mountain ranges whose slopes continually feed these rivers and their tributaries with their springs and generous drainage of rainfall and snow.

1. RIVER SYSTEMS

The three river systems of the Serb Block are the Northern, whose rivers, as tributaries of the Danube, drain into the Black Sea; the Western, draining into the Adriatic; and the Southern, whose waters fall into the Ægean.

The rivers of the Northern system flowing into the Danube from south to north are the Timok, on the eastern border, with its tributaries; the Mlava; the Morava, through the heart of Servia, formed by the junction of the two Moravas and their rich network of tributaries; the western Morava, with its great

tributaries the Ibar and the Rasina and the Binatchka Morava joined by the Toplitza and Nisheva—all, with the exception of the Nisheva, rising in Old Servia and flowing north-easterly or north-westerly.

The rivers of this system whose course is from west to east are the Drava, from its junction with the Mur near the point where it enters Croatian territory; the Sava, from the same direction, with its tributaries; the Kulpa west to east, and those which join it flowing from south to north, the Unna and Sanna; the Vrbas; the Drina with its tributaries, the Piva, the Tara, and the Lim, all three of which, with its own head-waters, rise in the Brdas of Montenegro. These rivers, with the small Kolubara River, in Servia, comprise the Danubian or Northern river system.

The Western system includes all those rivers, mostly coastal streams, draining westerly or south-westerly into the Adriatic. These rivers, if named in succession, beginning from Istria and Croatia in the north to the limits of Montenegro in the south, are: the Quieto and Arsa, in Istria; the Zermanya, rising in Croatia; the Kerka; the Cikota; the Cetina, rising in Dalmatia; the Neretva, which is the most important river of the eastern Adriatic seaboard, rising in Herzegovina; the Ombla estuary, near Ragusa; and, at the most southern point of the Serb Block, on the Adriatic coast at the southern border of Montenegro, the river Boyana, which is an immense volume of water issuing from the southern extremity of the lake of Skutari (Skodra), at which point it receives also the waters of the river Drin. The lake of Skodra is formed by the waters of the southern Montenegrin rivers the Morat-

Defile of Gornyatch

cha and the Zeta, and the numerous small streams comprising the drainage of the southern Montenegrin mountains and the northern Albanian Alps. The Drin belongs entirely to Albania, but its tributaries, the Black Drin and the White Drin, rise in the Servian Block. The Southern river system draining southward into the Ægean Sea is made up of the headwaters and part of the course of the Vardar River and that section of the river Struma which is included in the south-eastern border of the Servian Block.

The rivers of the eastern Adriatic seaboard in general are marked by peculiar characteristics resulting from the curious nature of the bleak limestone mountain formations of the Carsts. The Kerka and Cetina, in Dalmatia, are far famed for their cataracts, the river bed of the Kerka along almost its entire course being formed by successive, abrupt changes in level, forming a series of stairs. Near this river and the Ombla, which gushes suddenly in great volume out of a rocky mountain side after a mysterious subterranean course, are many caverns and grottoes. One of the wonders of the Carst region is the disappearing rivers, of which there are many. After a short ordinary course the waters suddenly sink from view in a self-formed clear pool clean of all morass, or they seep from sight through sand and boulders, or sometimes their waters are swallowed up suddenly in a cavern. After following a hidden underground way for some distance they as unexpectedly burst forth from rocks or caverns to flow for a while on the surface of the earth, again repeating their descent into regions of night and their sudden

gushing once more from their unknown channels, crystal pure into the sunlight. Of these rivers are: the Buna, the tributary of the Neretva; the Zalomnska reka which, rising naturally near Foinitza, is lost on the Nevesinsko Polye, never to reappear so far as can be judged; the Bregova, issuing in full force near Stolatz to flow into the Neretva.

The most remarkable of all these rivers is the Trebinytchitza. It is supposed that its first appearance is the river Moushitza, whose head-waters are in the mountains about Gatchko Polye. After almost encircling that plain, which it irrigates, it sinks from sight at the foot of the Vidosh mountain through the bottom of a small pool at the altitude of 936 metres. At a distance of about 20 miles due south, near Biletch, at an altitude of 350 metres, the Trebinytchitza bursts into sight from the rocky walls of the valley forming a river of a volume navigable for rowing boats. It flows some distance southward, then bending northward and rounding the entire Gliva Planina, in all about 50 miles, the Trebinytchitza suddenly drops from sight among boulders and rocks. It is supposed that in its hidden channels it doubles like a hare upon its own surface course, flowing southeasterly for 20 miles; then, having wended its labyrinthine way along the western slopes of the coastal Planina, it breaks open for itself a rocky gate of issuance not two miles from the sea's edge; there, under the name of the Ombla, so broad and deep that it anchors steamships, it finally throws its waters into the Adriatic Sea, forming the harbour of Gravosa.

The general characteristic of all the rivers belonging to the three great river systems of the Serb Block, the Northern, Western, and Southern, are steep and high banks. With the exception of the two great natural valleys of the Morava-Vardar and the Maritza, lying between parallel ranges, all of these rivers are characterised by deep-cut valleys, and in Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Old Servia they are often hewn through solid rock, forming wild cañons.

At certain points, where the banks are low and the subsoil impervious, there is much swamp-land. The largest of these swamps are at different parts of the Sava River, the delta of the Neretva River, and on the shores of the lake of Scutari. The deep valleys walled in by mountain steeps through which there is insufficient escape sometimes cause the waters to dam up and become sinks where streams disappear in morasses. These places are called "*blatos*." Other valleys of similar character but with impervious beds form healthy lakes of good water. Indeed, the water of mountain springs, streams, and rivers everywhere throughout these lands, except in swampy places, is noted for being good to drink, and delicious, often possessing curative or healing properties.

2. MOUNTAIN SYSTEMS, THEIR FLORA AND THEIR FAUNA

The north-western part of the Serb Block, within the triangle formed by the rivers Drava, Sava, and Danube, is penetrated by a long spur of the south-eastern Alps. These long Alpine spurs diminish in altitude as they reach out eastward and are framed

by the plains of those rivers. These ranges are 219 miles long, and where they enter Croatia from the west they form the mountain groups of the Uskoks, 3,818 feet in altitude, and the Matzel range on the borders of Styria, 2,015 feet in height. These two mountain ranges are joined on the south by the Ivanchitza mountains, 3,468 feet, and the Slyeme, 3,363 feet, both tending southward. These ranges extend toward the east as the Kalnik, 2,116 feet, first, then fall in altitude to the low hills of the Byelo Vrh, to rise again as the south-eastern Slavonian Mountains, whose highest peaks are the Tsrny Vrh, 2,688 feet, the Papouk, 3,100 feet, and the Brezovo Polye, 3,207 feet. The final sharp outcropping of these ranges is the Vrdnik or Frushka Gora, 1,935 feet, on the Danube.

The Carst Ranges

In the west, along the coast line, in Istria, Croatia, Dalmatia, Herzegovina, and western Montenegro, the ranges belong to formations called "Carst" (place of stones), long, rugged stretches of bleak and arid limestone, reddish in colour in Istria and southern Croatia, and ashen or steely gray in its southern part lying in Herzegovina, southern Dalmatia, and Montenegro.

The dryness of this formation is caused by the porous nature of the limestone which drinks up the rain and drains it into the deep underground channels formed by impervious beds of sandstone and clay. The stony masses of the Carst range, averaging an altitude of 4,000 feet, from which rise rocky peaks

bare of plant life and desolate, make a stern barrier between the lovely coast line with its bright vegetation, its flourishing gardens and teeming fields, and the interior central and western lands of the other mountain chains, with their finely wooded slopes and their fertile valleys enriched by the alluvial loam of many rivers and streams. This formidable Carst wall is sternly impressive, with its broken bastions and buttresses, its curiously carved and moulded sculpture of winds and waters, sometimes like a huge coliseum or amphitheatre with ranging rows of seats, or shaped into suggestions of weird towers and turrets or cathedral walls and domes, its obelisks and separate shafts cleft from the main mass standing as menacing sentinels, its "*glacis*" strewn with huge rocks and boulders, its caves fantastically roofed with stalactites, often dark donjons of Nature inhabited by a whole underworld of sightless creatures of night including (according to Elisée Reclus) "seven species of reptiles, eyeless coleoptera, arachids, centipedes, crustaceans, and molluscs." "Gates of Hell" the ancients called these caverns; then there are those other subterranean passages winding for miles upon miles of unknown ways within the hidden foundations, carrying the pure and crystal waters of numerous inland rivers and streams from western regions and finally opening to them, through its flood-gates, egress to the sea.

The precipitous walls of this bleak, forbidding barrier rear their arid stony heights along the entire seaboard of the eastern Adriatic, from Styria to Scutari, as if inhibiting all would-be invaders from the

fair countries lying eastward and shielded by these mighty rockworks as by a line of first defence, though each valley of those lands in turn lies intrenched in its own ranges of harsh hills and mountains.

The altitude of the passes across this high Carst plateau is from 2,300 to 4,533 feet. The highest peaks of the Carst toward the south are the Orien, 6,174 feet, the corner-stone where the boundaries of Montenegro, Dalmatia, and Herzegovina meet near Cattaro. In western Montenegro the Lovtchen rises to 5,726 feet, the Nyegosh, on the Banyani Plateau, 1,606 feet high. The highest peaks toward the north are the Great Kapella, 5,374 feet, and the beautiful Velebit rising 5,768 feet, near the sea on the borders of Croatia and Dalmatia. The atmospheric effects of this mountain and its surroundings, viewed from a distance, show gorgeous tints and colouring ranging from purple to deep rose. These effects of "Alp glühn" are characteristic of the Carst in all its length.

Notwithstanding the apparent absence of soil from the surface of this formation, which is swept bare by the winds and washed clean by the rains, the Carst in early spring-time is covered with sweet flowers; and in crevices which have chanced to garner a little soil, several kinds of aromatic plants and resinous shrubs find root, such as juniper, turpentine trees, and rock-roses. The flora, repeating those of Central Europe and the Pannonian plains, often includes as many as from fifty to sixty species within a few square yards. The flowers are of delightful fragrance, but their foliage is scant and they are soon scorched in the summer sun and blown away by the winds.

The Dinaric System

Striking from the same region as the Carst in the extreme north-west, the Dinaric Alps south of the Kulpa and Sava Rivers and west of the Carst mountains, from which they differ radically in character, stretch their many ranges and spurs in a south-westerly direction across the main area of the great Serb Block: Bosnia, Servia, Herzegovina, eastern Montenegro, and Old Servia. They lie for the most part in long, unbroken ranges called Planinas, with long, irregular summit lines from which rise sharply defined peaks. As in eastern Montenegro and Old Servia at some points where they penetrate the Carst formations, they take the forms of high and rugged plateaux. The entire Dinaric system in general has slopes covered by thick woods, some of which bear the character of virgin forests of great beauty. The trees include fir and other cone-bearers, beech, birch, ash, maple, oak, and all others belonging to the Alpine flora. Along the lower belts, in addition to these, specimens of trees and plants belonging to the Pontic or Black Sea flora are to be found. In Bosnia the limit of the tree belt lies at about 5,200 feet. Above that altitude the vegetation is entirely alpine, providing good grazing for cattle when the snow melts.

In eastern Montenegro, where the three systems of Carst, Dinaric, and Albano-Macedonian Alps meet and knot together, the trees up to the 2,600-foot belt are beeches, oak, ash, maple, birch, juniper, lilac, and rhododendron; above this point, up to 4,200 feet, the main woods are oak; beyond that altitude, up to

the unmelting snow, are the firs, pines, and other cone-bearers. In Servia and Old Servia the mountain slopes are generally cultivated up to the 1,900-foot line; from that line to 3,500 feet oaks predominate; above that, up to 5,200 feet, beeches predominate; and beyond that line come the cone-bearers and juniper-trees. In the lands these mountains traverse the flora and characteristics of all these different systems meet and intermingle. They are the eastern Alpine flora, most clearly defined in Bosnia; the Pannonian flora, in central and northern Servia; the Carpathian and Balkan flora, in the eastern regions; and in the south the flora of the primitive or Macedo-Dardanian flora.

The mountains of the Dinaric system receive a heavy rainfall and give rise to great numbers of springs and rivers, and are characterised by richly productive valleys and slopes. The highest points are the Trescavitza Planina, 7,111 feet, and the Byelasnitza, 6,718 feet, both south-west of Serayevo, in Bosnia; also the Vranitza; the Zec, 6,444 feet; the Lelia, 6,725 feet; and the Maglitch, rising from the Volnyinak chain. The south-western border of Servia is formed by high ranges belonging to the Dinaric system; the highest points are the Golya Planina, 6,279 feet, and the Kopaonik mountains, 6,955 feet. South of the Kopaonik are the high plateaux of Old Servia rising in the west to the high Brdas of Montenegro, whose loftiest altitudes are the Dormitor, on the plateau of the Chirovo Petchina, 8,216 feet; the Koutchki Kom, 8,092 feet; the Sto, 7,371 feet; the Gradishte, 7,212 feet; the Yablancov Vrh, 7,159

feet; and the Zhiovo, 6,932 feet. Numerous other peaks range from 4,800 to 6,500 feet in height. Montenegro is, in fact, one vast complicated mountain mass, a true fortress of nature.

The Albanian Ranges

The Albanian-Macedonian system, running north in several chains from the Pindus and Olympus masses on the Greek border, meets the Dinaric and Carst formations in eastern and southern Montenegro and penetrates Old Servia in its central and southern regions by spurs called the Albanian Alps, rising to 6,500 feet, and the Shar Dagh, 8,160 feet, cut by the deep gorges of Katchanik Pass after which it continues as the Kara Dagh with an altitude of 5,850 feet. These mountains in the main follow the characteristics of the Dinarics, being well covered with forests and giving rise to many springs and streams.

The Shumadia Mountains

These great systems of the Dinaric, the Carst, and the Albanian-Macedonian form all the mountains of the Serbland territory west of the long valley of the rivers Morava and Vardar, with the exception of the group of mountains in central Servia called the Shumadia. The Shumadia is of a soft crystalline formation on a granite foundation with extensive hill lands of tertiary deposit. It is exceedingly rich in soil, thickly wooded, chiefly with oak and nut trees, and produces, where under cultivation, three crops a year. Its flora is entirely Pannonic. It is characterised otherwise by deeply cut valleys and a

network of streams and rivulets flowing from springs of crystal pure drinking water. The highest peak of the Shumadia is the Veliki Shtouratz, 3,800 feet in height.

Carpathians, Balkans, and the Rhodope System

The mountain systems east of the Morava-Vardar valley are part of the the Carpathians, Balkans, and the Rhodope. The Carpathian Mountains in the north-eastern part of the Serb-inhabted territory are called the Banat Mountains, up to where they are deeply cut by the Danube River in the famous gorges between Baziash and Turnu Severinu, called at one point the Iron Gates. South of the Danube they form the mountains filling the whole part of Servia east of the Morava, where between that river and the Timok their highest point is the Golyubinye Planina, 4,922 feet. Farther south they join and mass with the Balkans. At the head-waters of the Black Timok their height in the Rtanye summit is 5,096 feet. The formation of the Servian Carpathians is crystalline and paleozoic schist broken by eruptive rock. Their slopes form one unbroken line of oak, chestnut, and beech trees; their flora is Carpathian.

South of the Nishava River, to the east of the Morava, the Rhodope Mountains present a purely primitive formation. In south-eastern Servia the Souva Planina, whose highest summit is the Sokolov Kamen (6,435 feet), is a spur of the Rhodope. East of the Vardar, in Old Servia, the spurs of the Rhodope are the Plashkavitza Planina and the low Malesh Planina between the Vardar and the Struma Rivers.

Like all the other systems, the Rhodope are richly wooded, having plenteous water and a productive soil. The flora is Pontian or southern.

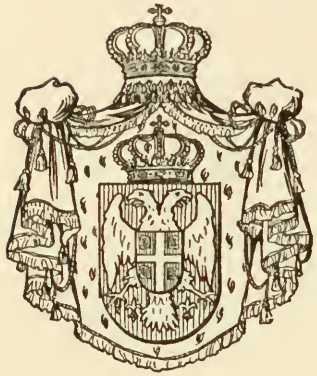
The fauna of all those mountain systems includes various species of deer, bear, wild boars, wolves, foxes, martens, ermine, otter, and beaver, which have always supported a considerable fur trade centred up to about fifty years ago in Old Servia. The birds include the eagle, the falcon, the hawk, the Balkan raven, a kind of black vulture, pheasants, wild pigeons and doves, partridges (called also the stone hen), and many wild wood birds, including the nightingale. Along the numerous rivers, springs, pools, and marshes are many kinds of water-fowl, including wild geese, ducks, and smaller aquatic birds; also quantities of tortoises (yellow and black), frogs, eels, etc. Among the fishes of the Danube is the sturgeon; trout and perch abound in all the other rivers.

The larger plains, besides those of the Sava, low and marshy, and the plain at the mouth of the Morava, are the productive plains north of the Danube in the Banat and Batchka, the plains of the Zeta, in Montenegro, which surround the lake of Scutari, and many small plains in Bosnia and Croatia; in Old Servia there are the plains of the great and little Kossovo, the Metoya, and of Tetovo. The plains of Kossovo and Tetovo were former sea basins. The main part of the Serb-inhabited territory is rich in ores and minerals, the richest regions in ore being the eastern part of Bosnia and the southern, central, and eastern parts of Servia, where were the famous mines of antiquity and the Middle Ages.

CHAPTER III

INDEPENDENT SERVIAN LANDS

1. THE KINGDOM OF SERVIA (SRBIYA)



THE Kingdom of Servia separated on the north from the Serbs of southern Hungary by the Danube River, and touching Bulgaria on its eastern border, occupies the central and greater section of the eastern half of the Serb-inhabited block whose eastern border it forms south of the Danube down to the limits of Old Servia on the South. On the west it borders Bosnia-Herzegovina. The area is 18,650 square miles.

Population.—The population in 1906 was 2,717,221, of which 2,692,000 were Servians and of the remaining, foreign, 16,267 were Austro-Hungarian subjects (mostly of Serb race); and 5,909 Turkish subjects (Serbs from Macedonia).

There are 1,407 communes, with 4,267 villages and 85 towns.

The largest towns are:

Belgrade, 77,816; Nish, 21,946; Kragouyevatz, 15,596; Leskovatz, 13,647; Pozharevatz, 12,162; Shabatz, 12,151; Vranya, 11,375; and Pirot, 10,000.

The average yearly increase of births over deaths is 1.68 per cent. There is no emigration from Servia to other countries. The Servians absent from their country number about 1,000 students, diplomatic and consular agents, commercial representatives, etc.

Constitution and Government

Servia is a constitutional monarchy, the crown being hereditary, according to primogeniture, in the male posterity of King Peter I, Karageorgevich, elected by the Greater National Assembly, June 15, 1903.

The King receives a civil list of 1,200,000 dinars ($240,000) yearly.

The Constitution, as framed in 1888 and amended in 1903 by the National Assembly, decrees to all Serbs equality before the law, right of public meeting, freedom of conscience, freedom of the press, and the right of association; abolishes capital punishment for political offences, refuses extradition of political delinquents, guarantees safety of home and property, and excludes confiscation.

The legislative power is exercised by the King and the other national representatives. The signatures of both are necessary to the legality of a measure.

The executive power resides in the King, who exercises it through a cabinet of ministers appointed or dismissed by him, and who are responsible to the nation.

The portfolios are: Foreign Affairs, Interior, War, Finance, Public Works, Commerce, Industry and Agriculture, Education and Worship, and Justice.

The ordinary Parliament or National Assembly,

called the "Narodna Skupshtina," meets every year on October 1 at the latest, and is re-elected every four years, the elections occurring on May 21. It is composed of 160 members at present, each county electing one member for every 4,500 ratepayers, with an extra member for each surplus 3,000 souls. The members, eligible only at thirty years of age, are chosen by secret and direct ballot. They receive a salary of fifteen dinars (three dollars) per day, with travelling expenses. During the period of mandate the members cannot be brought before a court of justice or arrested without a warrant from the Skupshtina, unless taken *in flagrante delicto.*

Priests, communal mayors, and government employees cannot sit in Parliament. Every male Servian twenty-one years of age and paying fifteen dinars (three dollars) direct taxes is entitled to vote.

It lies in the prerogative of either the King or the Skupshtina to propose bills. The Skusphtina alone decides all questions of State revenue and expenditure, which cannot be increased or their use determined without its consent. It examines and passes upon the budget, which without its sanction has no legal value. The Government requires the authorisation of the Skupshtina in order to conclude a loan.

In addition to the regular Parliament, a greater or "Grand Skupshtina" may be convoked by the King on extraordinary occasions, fixed by the Constitution ("Ustav"), such as for the revision of the Constitution, making statutory territorial rectification of a border, the consideration of dynastic questions, or the appointment of regents for a ruling minor.

Administration.—The chief administrative authority is the State Council, which remains in permanent session. Part of its members are appointed by the King, the others are elected by the Skupshtina. The chief matters upon which the State Council deliberates are: projected laws, questions of administrative competence and obligation, complaints of injury to private rights resulting from royal and ministerial decrees, matters relative to departmental and communal surtaxes and loans, and the transfer of their real property, the expropriation of private property for public purposes, the final settlement of debts due to the State which cannot be collected, the payment of extraordinary sums sanctioned by the budget, and exceptional admissions to the privilege of Servian citizenship.

State accounts are examined by a Board of State accountants consisting of a president and four members.

Religion.—The national church is the Orthodox Servian Church, which is autocephalous, depending upon no foreign authority, but maintaining unity of dogma with the Oriental Œcumenical Christian Church. The entire population belongs to this faith, with the exception of about 30,000, of which 10,400 are Roman Catholics, about 5,500 Jews, 1,400 Protestants, 3,000 Mohammedans, and several thousand Mohammedan Gipsies. There are also some few representatives of other sects. The Servian Orthodox Church is governed by an ecclesiastical body, of which the Metropolitan, Archbishop of Belgrade, is the president, and which is responsible to the Minister of

Education and Worship. Liberty of conscience is entirely unrestricted, and the priests of all the non-orthodox religions are free from all State interference.

In 1906, according to the "Statesman's Year Book," there were in Servia 731 churches and chapels and 54 monasteries; the clergy numbered 1,041 and monks 102. The property of the churches was valued at 14,923,122 dinars, and that of the monasteries, 7,343,909 dinars; the revenue of the churches was 665,007 dinars, the expenditure being 562,275 dinars; the income of the monasteries was 249,807 dinars, their expenditure, 221,223 dinars.

Education.—The expense of all grades of public schools in Servia is borne by the public treasury of either the central Government or the municipalities, and all grades and branches of public educational institutions are under the Ministry of Education.

Elementary and primary schooling is compulsory. Kindergartens are open to children from the ages of four to seven, and the elementary schooling, with a course of from four to six years' duration, is compulsory for all children, beginning at the age of six, or in some cases at seven. In 1906 there were 1,203 elementary schools with 2,339 teachers.

In addition to special winter courses in villages, there were five private schools, one of which was a Roman Catholic and one Protestant.

The higher secondary schools have an eight years' curriculum, conferring the degree of B.A., which entitles the student to enter the University of Belgrade. There are twenty such schools with 347 teachers and 6,061 pupils. Those pupils who take an

incomplete course of secondary schooling enter technical schools: the Commercial Academy, which has a three years' course; one of the four normal schools (two male, two female) for the training of teachers, or a seminary for the education of priests which has a nine years' course. There are three special schools, one for agriculture, one for viticulture, and one for arboriculture; three superior schools for girls exclusively, with 87 teachers and 1,048 students; also a Government military academy. The "Great School," or University, was founded at Belgrade in 1838 with four faculties, Science, Law, Letters, and Technology, with the aim of furnishing a practical equipment for utilitarian purposes. In 1907 an Agricultural faculty was added and a Medical faculty projected.

The University had, in 1906, 67 professors and 780 students. The lecturers comprise regular professors, special professors, permanent preceptors, temporary preceptors (elected each three years), honorary professors, and teachers. Professors may also have assistants.

Forty years constitute the term of service of the regular professors. Their salary, beginning at 6,000 dinars ($1,200) a year, reaches a maximum of 9,000 dinars ($1,800). The salary of honorary lecturers is voted by the administrative board of the University. In the elementary schools teachers, male and female, begin with 800 dinars salary, which increases to 2,550 and 3,000 dinars in the twenty-seventh year. After the thirtieth year they are entitled to retire on full-pay pensions. Teachers of the secondary schools and

technical colleges, beginning as assistant teachers, obtain a gradual promotion in salary and status, and can become professors upon passing a required examination. The regular salary of these teachers begins at 2,400 dinars and increases to 6,000. After thirty years' service they are entitled to retire with full-pay pensions.

For 1906 the expenditure on elementary schools was 4,577,110 dinars; on secondary schools, 1,249,-972; on the theological school, 169,325; on the normal schools, 126,198; on the special schools, 164,189; on the superior schools for girls, 194,432; and on the University of Belgrade, 493,000—6,974,226 dinars on those schools.

Justice, Crime, Pauperism.—Judges are appointed by the King, but the independence of the Bench is guarded by the fact that the appointment is perpetual and non-revocable except under impeachment of the incumbent.

There are twenty-four courts of first instance, a court of appeal, a court of cassation, and a tribunal of commerce. The number of convictions in all the courts of first instance in 1906 was 3,972, and the three penal establishments held 3,177 prisoners (3,079 males and 98 females), under sentence of hard labour.

Pauperism is unknown in Servia, even the poorest citizen possessing a certain amount of inalienable property. The correlative of the pauper, the workhouse, is equally unknown. Belgrade has a free municipal hospital, and there is an orphanage supported entirely by voluntary contributions.

Matrimony.—The number of males is always in excess of the number of females in Servia, the last census showing the proportion to be 943 women to 1,000 men. Of the girls, 3.73 per cent. marry before the age of sixteen, and of the men 42 per cent. before the age of twenty. More than 45 per cent. of the total population, including those previously widowed, are married. The average birth-rate per married couple is 4.40 per cent. Illegitimacy of children is almost unknown in Servia.

The Army

Military service is obligatory and universal in Servia, all men between the ages of eighteen and fifty being liable to be called to the colours.

The defence comprises the National Army and the *Levée en masse* ("Poslyednya Odbrana").

The National Army is composed of men between the ages of twenty-one and forty-four and is divided into three Bans. The first Ban is the Field Force, or first line, men from twenty-one to thirty-one, forming the Regular Army and its Reserves. The second Ban provides for the formation of troops of the second line, and in time of peace consists of "cadres" only. The third Ban is the Home Defence. The *Levée en masse* comprises all men able to carry arms, from eighteen to twenty-one and from forty-five to fifty, and all individuals able to carry arms not employed in the National Army. The time of service in the Regular Army or Field Army is ten years, of which two years are passed under the colours for artillery and cavalry; one and a half years for infantry and the

other branches; eight or eight and a half years in the Reserve (Regular Army). After ten years' service in the Field Army the soldier serves six years in the Reserve of the second Ban, and thereafter passes for eight years into the third Ban.

The conditions of temporary exemption from service with the colours are the same as in all countries where military service is obligatory. The sole breadwinner and the only son of a widowed mother dependent upon him, etc., have only a month of instruction and belong to the "Ersatz Reserve," with liability to short periods of drill. Students having passed their B.A. serve only six months if they are able to pass the examination for sub-lieutenant of Reserve, or, failing that, they serve fourteen months.

The yearly recruiting contingent averages 24,700 men. Servia is organised into five divisional military districts, each of which contributes one infantry division of two brigades—that is, consisting of four infantry regiments, one regiment of field artillery, and one regiment of divisional cavalry. The infantry regiments are recruited territorially. The Servian infantry is organised in twenty regiments of three field battalions and one *dépot* battalion. The cavalry consists of five regiments of divisional cavalry, existing in time of peace only *in cadre;* four cavalry regiments each of four squadrons, the squadron of 197 horses. These four regiments are complete in time of peace and form a separate cavalry division. The artillery consists of five regiments of field artillery, each of three divisions of three batteries (nine batteries), the batteries having four guns in peace and six in war;

one mountain artillery regiment of two divisions of three batteries; one howitzer regiment of two divisions and three batteries each; one battery of horse artillery which expands in war time into two batteries of four guns each.

The engineers consist of one battalion of five field companies, two companes of pontooniers, one mining, one telegraph, and one railway company. On mobilisation the five field companies are each attached to one infantry division, together with a pontoon section.

The second Ban exists in time of peace as *cadres* only. In time of war the second Ban comprises fifteen infantry regiments each of three battalions, five regiments of divisional cavalry, and the necessary engineers.

The third Ban has no organisation at present, but the necessary number of men and material is there to form fifteen regiments of infantry and five squadrons of cavalry.

The Royal Guard is composed of one company of infantry and one squadron of cavalry, the men of these bodies being selected from among the infantry and cavalry of the Regular Army.

The Servian army in time of war consists of five infantry divisions, one cavalry division, one mountain artillery regiment, one howitzer artillery regiment, sanitary troops, train engineers, etc., a total of about 110,000 combatants for the field army.

The second Ban includes about 65,000 combatants, the third Ban from about 50,000 to 60,000 men.

The Servian infantry is armed with the Mauser rifle, repeating model, 1899; 7 mm. The artillery is armed with modern quick-firing field and mountain guns,

system Shneider-Canet since 1908. Besides, there is the old but still good De Bange artillery material with which the batteries were armed up to 1908. Of this material there are 350 pieces of field, mountain, and howitzer guns, with which in war reserve artillery formations will be armed.

Further, there are about 120 machine guns, system Maxim and Hotchkiss.

The peace strength of the Servian army, according to the Budget of 1907, was 35,605 officers and men and 1,838 gendarmes. The military expenditure is about $4,500,000 per annum.

Fortifications.—The junction of roads and railways at Nish is protected and commanded by extensive works.

On the Bulgarian border at Zayetchar are five forts, and Pirot, on the railway line, Nish to Sofia, near the Bulgarian border, is strongly fortified.

The State possesses on the Danube one steamer used as a military transport.

Finance

State Budget.—The principal prerogative of the National Skupshtina is to examine, to pass on, or reject the Budget laid before it by the Cabinet without the power of augmenting the various credits. In case the Skupshtina should delay the ratification of the new Budget that of the last year may hold good for another period, otherwise the Budget is good only for one year. The King sanctions the Budget in conjunction with the State Council. The amounts fixed in the Budget for certain purposes cannot be diverted

to other purposes, nor can the deficit of one department be covered by a surplus in another department. In case of extraordinary and unforeseen expenses, the Government can call upon complementary and extraordinary credit foreseen and regulated by law.

State Budget.—

Revenues (in Francs):

YEAR	ESTIMATED	ACTUAL
1886	46,000,000	28,775,256
1896	63,659,720	59,116,858
1904	89,236,721	87,902,436
1905	87,896,000	87,676,437
1906	89,207,072	91,270,374
1907	90,452,752	94,824,117
1908	95,239,037	
1909	99,031,444	
1910	113,977,744	

Expenditures (in Francs):

YEAR	ESTIMATED	ACTUAL
1886	45,968,639	39,225,046
1896	63,355,606	64,947,113
1904	89,143,835	85,153,797
1905	87,632,278	84,908,931
1906	89,145,095	87,335,640
1907	90,387,225	86,689,952
1908	95,091,251	
1909	98,932,757	
1910	112,893,075	

Chief Items of Revenues:

	Francs
Direct Taxes (1907)	26,029,090
Indirect Taxes (Customs, etc.) (1907)	14,500,000
Monopolies (1907)	25,310,000
Stamp Duties (1907)	5,525,000
State Railways, Post and Telegraphs, Domains (1907)	19,000,000

Chief Items of Expenditures:

Civil List	1,200,000
Debt (Public) Charge (1907)	23,741,948
Pensions (1907)	4,481,197
Public Instruction (1905)	6,052,391
Ministry of Finance (1907)	9,192,714
" War (1907)	20,498,885
" Public Works (1905)	9,361,648
" Foreign Affairs	2,359,034
" Justice	2,285,379
" Commerce and Agriculture	3,087,868

Public Debt.—In 1863 Servia contracted her first public debt and issued her first public loan, which was augmented by several other small debts during the war with Turkey in 1876–8. In 1881 she contracted her first important debt of 33,000,000 francs for railway purposes. Finally, after some other loans, the Servian Government and a syndicate consolidated in 1895 all the Servian public debts contracted prior to that date from the year 1881, the Serbian Government giving as guarantee its net revenues from rail-

ways, customs, monopolies, taxes, and returns of the obet (excise). The Autonomous Administration of Monopolies manages these revenues and superintends the exact payment of the annuities.

Table of Servia's Public Debts

		Rate.	Nominal value of loan (*in francs*).	Actual amount of indebtedness (*in francs*).
1	Loan in Russia in 1876 . . .	5 %		3,750,000
2	Lottery loan of 1881	2 %	33,000,000	24,730,000
3	Loan on obligations of the Uprava Fondova, 1886 . . .	5 %	12,000,000	7,293,000
4	Loan on tobacco bonds in 1888		10,000,000	9,170,000
5	Consolidation loan of 1895 . .	4 %	355,292,000	339,900,000
6	Loan for railway exploitation in 1899	5 %	11,500,000	4,800,000
7	Loan of 1902	5 %	60,000,000	57,538,500
8	Loan of 1906	4½%	95,000,000	94,194,500
9	Loan of 1909	4½%	150,000,000	150,000,000

The total actual indebtedness of Servia amounted on January 1, 1909, to 541,376,000 francs. Servia pays her annuities regularly. The annual debt charge in 1907 was 23,741,948 dinars.

Money.—The principal bank in Servia is the National Bank of Servia, at Belgrade, nominal capital 20,000,000 dinars, of which 6,500,000 is paid up. Its bank-note circulation in December, 1907, amounted to 37,362,927 dinars, with cash on hand, 14,105,842 dinars in gold and 7,434,967 dinars in silver. Of importance is the Export Bank, which assists in the

exportation of Servian products and has agencies in other countries. The Uprava Fondova (Mortgage Bank) is a large State institution making important advances to a large amount for agricultural operations.

There are seven State savings banks and a Class Lottery (German system), twenty-four ordinary private banks, and six hundred agricultural co-operative societies on the Reifeisen co-operative banking system.

Servia adopted by the law of June 20, 1875, the decimal system for its moneys, weights, and measures. The Servian dinar is equal to one franc, or twenty cents, in United States currency.

A hundred paras make one dinar. There are in circulation gold coins of ten and twenty dinars, and silver coins of five, two, one, and one-half dinars; bronze coins are of ten and five and two paras; nickel coins of five, ten, and twenty paras.

Products and Industries

Every condition is favourable to agriculture. A good climate, a plenteous supply of good water, richness of soil, with a quality of loam yielding often three crops a year, favourable rural organisation and traditions, the Servians' natural pleasure in the development of the soil, the dignity of agricultural pursuits—all combine to make of Servia, with improved means of communication and the opening up of adequate facilities for transportation to other countries, a land destined to become more and more an important source of all kinds of agricultural products. Those fortunate

conditions, together with her rich and various ore and mineral deposits, point to a bounteous prosperity in store for her as a producer of raw materials.

The realisation of these facts has resulted in giving the Servian Ministry of Agriculture control over a far-reaching organisation for the furtherance not only of agriculture proper but of production in all its branches. In addition to the large number of private agricultural institutions, the State has founded schools for the teaching and scientific study of farming and of the cultivation of vines and orchards (near Negotin, in the wine-producing district of north-western Servia); an agricultural and cattle-raising school near Shabats; a cattle-raising institution at Dobrichevo, with branches in three other districts; a magnificent agricultural estate near Belgrade (at Topchider); six State vine nurseries which (by the introduction of American vines into Servia) have succeeded in stamping out the phylloxera that threatened the total destruction of the vines in the early eighties. This institution not only distributes the American vines to the people, but gives instruction in the art of grafting. There are also in the country three model practical agricultural farm schools, fifty-one model nurseries for fruit-growing, apiculture, sericulture, and poultry-farming, where instruction is freely given in all these branches.[1]

The Ministry of Agriculture inspects all institutions where agriculture and its branches are taught,

[1] The Agricultural and Chemical Station at Belgrade, enlarged in 1902 with a section for Phytopathology, studies the different parasites and illnesses of plants and the means of combating them, and is bound to give gratuitous information on illnesses of plants to all interested persons.

and collects and publishes statistical data concerning all departments of the country's development.

At the beginning of 1906 there were 528 private agricultural associations incorporated into the Union of Agricultural Societies, with a central administration at Belgrade. Among the many other private societies for the furtherance of the interests of produce are the Servian Agricultural Society, founded in 1869, the Apiculture Society, Sericulture Society, etc.

Practically every Servian countryman owns and tills his own land, possessing from 10 to 20, to 30, on up to 100 or even 200 acres, but rarely more. Of the total population, 84.23 per cent. are engaged in agriculture and cattle-raising.

Cereals.—Although maize (Indian corn) is the largest of all the cereal crops, it is used almost universally for bread in the rural districts and as food for cattle and hogs, and therefore figures less on export lists than does wheat. The maize export figures for 1905 were about 20,476,279 kilogrammes, as against a wheat export of 93,146,686 kilogrammes.

The other cereals according to importance are: barley, oats, rye, millet, and buckwheat.

Vegetables.—The vegetables are beans, onions, chilli peppers, cabbage, garlic, leeks, pumpkins, watermelons (in great quantity), musk-melons, cucumbers, with some potatoes and tomatoes. Beet-root has been cultivated recently to a certain extent.

Hemp and flax are produced in important quantities in Servia. They are used in the weaving of home-made linen for wearing apparel and household purposes, but are exported as well. Tobacco, a

Government monopoly, is exported in considerable amount from Servia.

Fruit.—The conditions are exceptionally favourable for fruit-growing, which has taken the lead of all agricultural products. Plums are raised in greater quantities than any other fruit, though all mid-European varieties of fruit are abundant in Servia—apples, pears, quinces, cherries, apricots, nuts, grapes. All of these fruits are of fine quality and ripen in good condition, it being found possible to export them fresh from the tree. Plums and their products, prunes (dried plums), "Pekmez" (made by boiling ripe plums down in their own sugar to a stiff, smooth jam), and the famous Servian plum brandy (slivovitza), are imported in large quantities, and are much in demand in European markets. The wine of Negotin is of fine quality, and is now exported under its own name. Formerly a Bordeaux firm imported it and resold it, labelled with a Bordeaux brand. In the same way the Servian prunes often find their way to the public as French or German fruit.

Cattle and Other Domestic Animals.—More than one-half of the total export revenues is derived from cattle and hogs. Their flesh is exceedingly wholesome, as a result of their feeding on the grass of meadows and hillsides, and having fresh, good water to drink, and sanitary natural conditions generally.

The estimate gives: 174,363 horses, 969,953 head of cattle, 3,160,166 sheep, 908,108 hogs, 500,063 goats, 7,710 buffaloes, 1,271 asses, etc.

Poultry.—The revenue from the exportation of poultry and eggs becomes year by year more important; in 1905 it was 1,893,580 francs.

The cultivation of silk-worms is reviving in Servia and is in a promising state. In the Middle Ages silk-producing was of important value. In 1905 silk-worm seed and cocoons were exported to the extent of 97,256 kilogrammes, value, $19,240.

Hunting and Fishing.—The mountains of Servia abound in game: deer, stag, fallow deer, and hare; the bear, wild boar, wolf, wild-cat, weasel, fox, etc.; several species of birds and water-fowl: eagles, hawks, vultures, doves, partridge, woodcock, etc. Game laws exist as in other countries.

The streams hold plentiful fish—trout and perch in the hill streams and pools, and larger fish, especially sturgeon, in the Danube and Sava.

Forestry.—More than 31.4 per cent. of the total area of Servia is covered with forests; 36.2 per cent. of these belong to the State, 42.8 per cent. to the municipalities and villages, 1.1 per cent. to monasteries and churches, and 19.9 per cent. are private property.

The most numerous trees are the different species of oak and the beech; besides these, the leaf-trees (90 per cent. of the forests) include several species of maple-trees, ash, elm, lime, birch, hornbeam, black alder, white alder, several species of poplar and of willow; walnut, hazel-nut, and several species of six other kinds of trees. Ten per cent. of the forest-trees are cone-bearers, chiefly pines and fir-trees in the south-western part of Servia.

The forest riches of Servia are practically untapped,

on account of insufficient means of communication. The State, therefore, cannot at present profit by its enormous forests, which form one of Servia's rich stores of resource. At this time more timber is imported into the country than is taken out of it.

Minerals and Ore.—Servia is rich in mineral and ore deposits, especially in copper, gold, coal, lead, and silver. All of the rivers of the realm are gold-bearing to some extent. During Turkish times no mines were worked, and they were more or less forgotten, but the development of peaceful and flourishing conditions in free Servia has led to the relocation of some of the old mines (several of them were exploited by the Romans), and investigation under government supervision has revealed the existence of many fresh deposits.

Much foreign and local capital is already being invested in works for the exploitation of some of these mines.

The State works coal and lignite beds, and a Belgian company is among the foreign concessionaries. The output of various ores for 1906 was 2,375,067 metric tons.

Mining is carried on for gold, copper, lead, zinc, antimony, silver, iron, quicksilver, asbestos, arsenic, chromium, graphite, gypsum, sulphur, marbles; building stone and oil shales are found.

For the development of mining industries, as well as for every other branch of the development of Servia's rich resources, extended means of communication and an augmentation of the railway system are necessary. Indeed, it may be said that Servia is a

pioneer country of enormous and varied wealth of natural resources, lying in the heart of Europe, a mine of undeveloped treasure, guarded intact by the very enemies who have, as it were, bound the land to inaction and imprisoned the capacities of her people so many hundred years.

Industries.—Industries, as they are understood in Europe, have not as yet made much important progress. It is doubted whether the true prosperity of the Serb country lies in that direction. Some have hoped that this fair land, where pauperism and millionairism are equally unknown, may be able to escape the blankness of desolation and misery of the vast army of the non-possessing class who feed the machinery of the great industries of more Western worlds—"feed" them with their own lives in more senses than one.

The arts of handicraft, however, constitute a special and precious attainment, and have since earliest times been cultivated and developed in Servian lands. Though these articles are produced primarily for domestic, if not for personal use, some of them became known elsewhere.

The famous carpets and rugs of Pirot, in the tchellim weave (like the Persian "kelim" stitch), whose rich colourings are yet sober and harmonious, while the designs are severe and elegant, have been made and perfected during centuries by Servian girls and women working by traditional methods, from designs carried in the mind only, and imagined or modified according to the individual taste and fancy of the weavers. It is rare that any design is ever repeated. Each family has its inherited processes and

secrets as to extracting and combining colours, etc. The colours are all "sap-colours," or vegetable dyes, and the carpets can be washed without being damaged. The wools are from a special breed of Servian sheep, and are carefully selected. The work is done at home in the houses, and the products are sold by the Zadrugas.

The Pirot Carpet Zadruga is at present a co-operative society, composed of the women who weave the carpets, and is aided by the State with capital. Founded in 1902, it is managed by a council of seven members and two committees of five each, one of supervision and the other of estimates, the last being composed of persons who are not financially interested in the business, but who are good judges of carpets, and the prices they fix are accepted as being fair and right. This Pirot Zadruga has in the short time since its foundation turned out work with great success, which has been awarded several "Grand Prix" in different European exhibitions. Another department of women's handicraft is the weaving of all fabrics, from the most exquisite and sheer silken textures to the stoutest and most durable for wear and household purposes. These textures and the beautiful embroideries and needle-work point, which the Servian women make, are greatly admired by travellers from other lands. The men's handicrafts are numerous, and include many matters relating to building, metal work, work in wood, leather, pottery, etc. The desire to make it possible for the handicrafts products to hold their own in the presence of machine-made cheap articles has caused the matter to be closely studied, and has inspired the creation of

institutions for preserving and improving the methods and conditions of production and the introduction of laws in their interest. Holiday primary schools for handicraft have been founded in all the chief towns, and two higher handicrafts schools in Belgrade and Kragouyevatz. Both the State and private corporations aid students to study art abroad. Handicraft banks have been set up to furnish the artisans with capital at low rates of interest. The State endeavours, by all means of treaty and arrangement with foreign governments, to help the sale of the works of handicrafts.

Modern Manufactures.—The most important of these are flour-milling, which is rapidly developing, meat-packing, sugar-making from beet-root, tobacco manufacture, and the making of arms and ammunition at Kragouyevatz, etc., etc.

Commerce.—Only 4.41 per cent. of the Servian population are engaged in commerce:

YEAR	IMPORTS	EXPORTS	TRANSIT
1903	58,235,262	59,967,704	32,734,422
1906	44,328,642	71,604,098	48,645,925
1907	70,583,327	81,491,262	55,963,728

Lines of Communication.—The main railroad line of Servia is the line from Belgrade to Nish and eastward, via Pirot, in Servia, and via Sofia, in Bulgaria, to Constantinople, a section of the Orient express route, with the connection of the same line at Nish, continuing due south to Salonica, through the Morava-Vardar valley. There are some secondary branches: Smederevo-Velika Plana, Lapovo-Kraguyevatz, a total of 390 miles. The necessity of road

development is great, and the Government has planned, and is building, by degrees, about 700 miles of narrow-gauge railroads.

There are 3,490 miles of highways.

One hundred and ninety-eight miles of the Danube are navigable, lying along the northern border, as well as 90 miles of the Sava river. The Drina, on the western border, gives 106 miles of navigable riverway for small craft.

The Servian Steamship Company plies on the Sava and the Danube, alongside of several other foreign river steamboat companies. At the end of 1907 there were 2,140 miles of telegraph with 5,042 miles of wire, and 175 telegraph offices. The post-office, telegraph, and telephone services belong to the State. There were 1,451 post-offices carrying internally, alone, in 1907, 43,766,000 letters.

2. THE PRINCIPALITY OF MONTENEGRO (TSRNAGORA)

MONTENEGRO, a colossal mass of mountain piled upon mountain, occupies the extreme southwestern point of the Servian Block, touching the Adriatic Sea for twenty-eight miles from Dulcigno to Antivari, thence continuing its western border along the slender coastal strip of Dalmatia, then following the southeastern boundary of Herzegovina in a north-easterly

trend, up to a point of junction with Novi-Bazar (Old Servia), whose south-western border it follows to the Albanian territory, whose northern limits form the south-eastern border of Montenegro.

The area is about 3,630 square miles. The entire population is Servian, and numbers from about 250,000 to 280,000, the fluctuation being accountable to the large stream of emigration to America and the numbers who continually repatriate themselves after having worked for some time, often years, abroad. The Montenegrins are broad-shouldered and tall, averaging over six feet in height. There are two types: those in the southern and western parts of the country are usually dark-complexioned, while in the Brdas, the central, northern, and eastern regions, the prevailing type is fair with light brown hair and gray eyes.

Administration and Social Organisation

As in all Servian lands, the basis of the social organisation is the Family—formed into Zadrugas. Several such families form a Bratstvo (brotherhood), several Bratstvos, a Selo (village) or a Pleme (clan), and a group of Plemes form a Zhupa or Nahia. The Turkish word "Nahia" has come to be in general use to-day. Montenegro comprises eight Nahias.

Up to 1851 Montenegro was governed in accordance with traditionary Serb custom, by popular assembly. The chief executive power was in the hands of a governor, who was elected, and superior to him was the Bishop, who, as spiritual head of the united

clans—his diocese including them all—was looked upon as the supreme authority. In 1851 Bishop Danilo, uncle of the present Prince of Montenegro, secularised himself by a *coup d'état* and merged the ancient confederation of clans into an absolute Principality, for which he obtained, under the ægis of Russia, recognition by the European Powers.

Constitution.—The Constitution dates from December 19, 1905, and the first Parliament on Western lines assembled in Montenegro in 1906, being dissolved in 1907. With that grant Montenegro became a hereditary constitutional monarchy. The Skupshtina (Parliament) meets at the capital, Cettinye, every year, on October 31, being convoked by the Prince. Its members are elected by universal suffrage for a term of four years. One representative is elected by each of the fifty-six Capitanats, or districts, and one each by the six towns, Cettinye, Podgoritza, Nikshitch, Kolashin, Antivari, and Dulcigno. There are also twelve members who sit in virtue of their offices; they are: The Montenegrin Orthodox Metropolitan, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Antivari, the Montenegrin Mussulman Mufti, six high officials of the State, and three generals nominated by the Prince, making seventy-four members in all.

The portfolios of the Cabinet are held by six ministers. The President of the Council holds the two portfolios of Foreign Affairs and Justice; the Ministry of the Interior and Agriculture, one; Posts and Telegraphs, one; Finance and Public Works, one; Education and Worship, one, and one for War.

The Royal Family.—The reigning Prince is Nicola I. Petrovitch Nyegosh, born October 7 (O. S., September 25), 1841, proclaimed Prince of Tsrnagora and the Brdas, as successor to his uncle, Danilo I. the first Prince of Montenegro (Tsrnagora and the Brdas), on August 14, 1860.

Religion.—The whole population of Montenegro belongs to the Servian Orthodox Church, with the exception of about 10,000 Roman Catholics and 14,000 Mohammedans.

Montenegro is divided into two Orthodox dioceses, Cettinye and Ostrog. Cettinye is subdivided into 8 proto-presbyteries with 84 parishes, Ostrog has 9 proto-presbyteries with 75 parishes. Both Sees are united in the person of the Bishop of Cettinye, who is the Metropolitan of the Servian Orthodox Church of Montenegro. The clergy under him numbers 180. There are 117 Orthodox churches in Montenegro.

The Orthodox clergy is maintained by the government, out of a budgetary item called church tax, levied on each head of a household.

The Roman Catholics have 10 parishes with 13 priests and a Roman Catholic Archbishop of Antivari. These parishes are all situated on the lake of Scutari in the coastal district. In the same district are also situated the 19 Mussulman communities and 33 expounders of the Koran under the authority of a Mufti.

Education.—Schooling in Montenegro is free and in elementary grades compulsory. There is one gymnasium, or classical college, conferring the degree of B.A., at Cettinye, a seminary for orthodox priests,

and 120 lower schools, and a girls' special high school with about 100 resident pupils.

There are printing-presses at Cettinye and Nikshitch issuing books and newspapers. The first printing-press in this land was set up at Podgoritza, in 1492, and flourished until it was suppressed by the Turks in the sixteenth century, along with all other printing-presses throughout Serb lands.

Justice, Crime, and Pauperism.—The judicial code formulated by V. Bogishitch, founded on the Servian code and codifying old, unwritten tradition and laws, is gradually coming into usage.

The justice of the peace of each community is also its mayor. There are 56 district courts, each presided over by the head of the district, or Capetan, and five town courts; those are all the courts of first instance.

There are courts of second instance, or courts of appeal, in the five principal towns, and a supreme court called the Veliki sud in Cettinye, which is the court of highest and final instance and has jurisdiction over the whole principality. Grace for criminal offences lies with the Prince, but crime in general is rare.

There is no workhouse, but the Government annually gives employment on public works to those who are poor.

Finance

Budget.—The Budget estimates for 1907 showed the revenues to amount to 2,980,000 perper (francs), derived chiefly from land taxes, customs, and monop-

olies. The expenditure was 2,888,893 perper (francs), covering:

Prince's civil list and appanages of royal princes	180,000	perper.
Justice	150,000	"
Interior	589,913	"
Foreign Affairs	150,881	"
Finance	448,759	"
War	200,000	"
Worship and Instruction	197,847	"

The Public Debt amounts to 1,657,192 perpers.

Money.—Since 1908 Montenegro has her own monetary system. One perper equals one franc, divided into a hundred centimes. There are three banks, the Bank of Montenegro, at Cettinye, and banks at Podgoritza and Nikshitch.

The Army.

The army of Montenegro is Montenegro. A continual state of war through five hundred years has given Montenegro the character of a military camp, and has made the Montenegrin-Serbians a people of soldiers, and one may also say a people of aristocrats—each clan of the Tsrnagora can trace its blood and its armorial bearings beyond the thirteenth century.

It is natural under these circumstances that the Montenegrin army should include every man able to bear arms; and the spirit still holds of the old, unwritten law: "Whoever once shows himself to be a coward shall never more carry arms, shall wear a

woman's apron, and shall be chased out of the country by women."

The rule is that all men from thirty to forty-five years of age serve in the first line of the army; all from sixteen to twenty and from forty-five to sixty in the second line. The estimated strength of the army in time of war is 38,000 men, of whom 25,000 belong to the first line.

Organisation.—In time of peace there is a school battalion of 690 men, who remain four months under instruction, giving place to a new batch. Besides this, there is a school battery instructing batches of 100 men for six months. In war time the army comprises 58 battalions of infantry with nine batteries, each possessing four Krupp 7 cm. guns and two field-guns.

The higher formations are the nine brigades.

The Montenegrin Army possesses 40,000 Russian ordinance repeating rifles, pattern "Moskovska," with 30,000,000 cartridges; also 39,900 Berdan, 20,000 Werndls, 20,000 Martinis, 12,000 Krnkas, 5,000 Wenzels, all single-loading rifles, and 29,000 revolvers; 36 mountain guns, 12 field-guns, also other muzzle-loading and breech-loading guns, howitzers, and mitrailleuses.

There are also two batteries of quick-firing field-guns, Russian army pattern; and an order has been placed for a number of Maxim guns, which would be specially adaptable to the Montenegrin country. The uniform of the Montenegrin Army is the national costume; however, the Prince has the design of abolishing the national dress and putting the guards

and the school troops into a uniform copied from one of the European armies. The ambulance service consists of a detachment sent from the Russian army.

Command and Officers.—The chief of the army is the Prince, and the commander of the newly created troops is the Heir-Apparent. A Russian officer has lately arrived in Montenegro, under order of the Tsar, to supervise the expenses of the war budget and the reorganization of the Montenegrin Army. Of the 750 officers, fifty have been educated in Russian, French, and Italian military schools.

Mobilisation.—The traditional organisation of the army has heretofore made it possible that the army should be mobilised and concentrated within three or four days. Every man has his own equipment and arms in his own house, and the old method of mobilisation simply consists in a bugle-call to arms; thus, in all mobilisations the troops were gathered in the districts and on the complete war footing within four hours after the call. In 1887, within eight hours, 10,000 men, one-third of the army, were ready for action on the Herzegovian border.

The innovations being now steadily introduced will greatly encumber this swiftness of handling.

Instruction.—Until 1896 no service regulation existed in Montenegro. Tactics were based on traditional axioms formed by five hundred years of successful experience. In 1896 a field-service regulation, adapted from those of the Russian and the Italian armies, was introduced; the masses, however, and the leaders are opposed to this imposition, and hold to the old traditional tactics as being those best

suited to the relief and character of that mountainous country. The principle of those old tactics is the defensive, with retarded opening of fire at short distances, and sudden, energetic offensive attack at the moment when the enemy is shaken by the fire.

Spirit and Discipline.—The warlike spirit is the same as it has been these five hundred years, unconquerable.

For a successful defence of the country, the military forces of Montenegro are more than sufficient, and their value as an army of invasion of a neighbouring State should not be underestimated.

Products and Industries

The land is owned by the cultivators of the soil, who live and work in house communities (Zadrugas). There are no large estates.

The high plateaux grow barley, rye, and oats; the plains of Nikshitch and Zhablyak produce wheat and Indian corn. On the littoral, oranges, lemons, almonds, and figs are raised. In the valleys, basins, and dolinas the inhabitants are agriculturalists, growing maize, potatoes, grain, melons, grapes, apples, pears, prunes, nuts, and tobacco. In the alluvial and coast territories of the south the products include figs, olives, grapes, grain, pomegranates, almonds, mulberries, quinces, sumach wood, and another wood called "macchia," oleander, laurel, myrtle, erik, spartium, and stone oak.

In the higher regions the population live chiefly by the raising of cattle on a system similar to that in Switzerland in the high Alpine districts.

The live stock is: 500,000 sheep and goats, 60,000 cattle, 8,000 swine, 3,000 horses, 30,000 bee-hives.

The manufacture, selling, and exportation of tobacco are a State monopoly exploited since 1903 by an Italian syndicate.

An Italo-Montenegrin syndicate, recently formed to prospect for minerals, has discovered beds of manganese and iron pyrites.

Commerce.—The exports of Montenegro for 1906 were valued at $1,041,665. They include cattle, sheep, goats, wool, hides, skins for glove manufacture, furs, sumach wood for dying purposes, chrysanthemums for insect powder, tobacco, wood for walking-sticks, smoked mutton (castradino), cheese, dried and smoked fish, and sardines (scorances), honey, beeswax, olive-oil, wine, and fruits.

The imports were about $1,250,000, and included salt from Turkey (salt is a government monopoly) of $55,000 a year; petroleum from Russia; maize, cottons, hardware, arms, ammunition, sugar, coffee, rice, and grain.

Lines of Communication.—There is a good wagon road from Cattaro to Cettinye, from Riyeka via Podgoritza and Danilograd to Nikshitch, another from Riyeka to Antivari via Virbazar, one from Antivari to Dulcigno, a road from Podgoritza via Plavnitza to the lake of Scutari, one from Nikshitch to Kolashin and the Moratcha valley. All of the other roads are bridle paths and mountain trails. An electrical railroad is in course of construction from Antivari, on the Servian Sea (Adriatic), to Nikshitch, of about 100 miles in length. There are 528 miles of telegraph

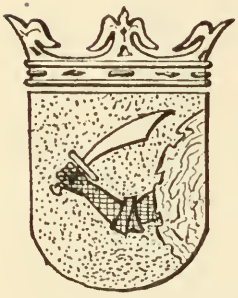
lines, twenty-three offices, two radio-telegraphic stations, and twenty-one post-offices.

The Montenegrin Government possesses one warship (old), a gift of Russia, one steamer of 659 tons; there are sixteen sailing boats with a tonnage of 3,647 tons, and three small steamers on the lake of Scutari.

CHAPTER IV

SERVIAN LANDS UNDER FOREIGN DOMINATION

1. BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA (UNDER AUSTRIA-HUNGARY)



BOSNIA forms the northern and broader part of a triangular area of territory, of which Herzegovina forms the narrowing southern point, imbedded in the Serb Block between Croatia and Dalmatia on the west, Croatia-Slavonia on the north, the kingdom of Servia and Old Servia on the east, Montenegro on the south-east, and piercing through to the Adriatic Sea, with the extreme southern point where Dalmatia thins down to the mere coast line at Klek north of Ragusa and Sutorina south of Ragusa. The area is 19,702 square miles.

Population.—The population is entirely Servian in race and language, and numbered, in 1905, 1,568,092 (828,190 males and 739,902 females). In addition to this number, there has been a regular garrison of Austro-Hungarian troops of 22,000, which has been raised since the annexation of October, 1908, and stands at 50,000 men. There are also, making up the administrative, official, and other non-Bosnian

temporary class of inhabitants, 70,848 Austro-Hungarians, comprising all officials, high and low, of the administration, the judges in all the courts of justice, police, Roman Catholic clergy, merchants, and other exploiters of various kinds.

There are fifty-one towns and markets, with a population reaching 2,000, and four towns with over 10,000: Serayevo, the capital, having 38,083 inhabitants; Mostar, 14,370; Banyaluka, 13,556; and Dolna-Tuzla, 10,227.

In 1875 the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, after the example of their neighbour and sister-State, Servia, who had succeeded in reconquering her long-lost liberty, rose in insurrection against the Turkish rule. They had already won important victories and wrested concessions from their Ottoman masters; their complete autonomy was indeed in sight, being guaranteed to them by the Constantinople Conference of 1876, and more recently by the San Stefano treaty, when in 1878 the Congress of Berlin convened for the purpose of deliberating upon the results of the Russo-Rumano-Serbo-Montenegrin war against Turkey, and the modification of the treaty of San Stefano, which the four Powers above named, following the lead of Russia, had just concluded with the Sultan.

The great European Powers at the Berlin Congress, actuated by motives and interests not to be here examined, arranged by a combination of mutual concessions to abrogate the treaty of San Stefano, and to ignore the concessions hard-won at the sword's point from Turkey by Bosnia-Herzegovina, and at the request of Austria to hand over to Austria-Hungary

for administration and occupation those Servian lands which she had been unable to conquer during centuries of armed attempt to subdue and hold. The people of those countries opposed the invasion of the Austro-Hungarian troops, who were only able after four years of bloody fighting to enter and impose their administration upon the population.

Austria-Hungary has recently (October 5, 1908) annexed the provinces outright, in violation of the treaty promises made at the Berlin Congress.

Administration

The administration during the last thirty years has been entirely Austro-Hungarian, the inhabitants having been allowed no share in public affairs except the payment of taxes and furnishing of recruits to the Austro-Hungarian Army. The administration is exercised by an office in Vienna, called the "Bosnian Bureau," forming a special department of the Ministry of Finance common to Austria and Hungary. The bureau controls the government seated at Serayevo Bosnia, which has four departments: Finance, Interior, Justice, and Public Works. The Austro-Hungarian Government has established throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina an elaborate and complete police system, penetrating every department of life, public and private, such as is unknown in any other country.

The provinces are promised a constitutional government with a diet, consisting of ecclesiastical members and deputies elected on the basis of so-called universal suffrage; that suffrage, however, on account

of arbitrary determination of the number of representatives, according to nationality or religion, does not anywhere in Austria-Hungary mean equal representation. The territory is divided into six counties as superior administrative divisions and fifty-four sub-divisions.

Finance.—In 1907 the revenue for expenditure in the administration of these lands was 60,840,391 crowns,[1] the amount expended, 60,811,717 crowns.

The money system and weights and measures are the same as in Austria-Hungary.

The most important of the financial institutions is the Bosnian Bank at Serayevo. A Hungarian mortgage bank for Bosnian business has just been founded at Buda-Pesth.

The Army.—Military service is compulsory and under the general military law of Austria-Hungary. Austria levies in Bosnia and Herzegovina four infantry regiments, each of five battalions—four "line" and one "dépôt"; one rifle battalion and four sections of train; no artillery and no cavalry; a total of 7,100 men on a peace-footing. All of these troops are quartered outside of the country, in Austria or in the Magyar towns of Hungary. Military expenditure is 5,947,200 crowns annually. The permanent garrison is composed of non-native troops, all Germans and Magyars, and numbers thirty-four battalions and twelve batteries of artillery. The troops constitute the Fifteenth Austro-Hungarian Army Corps, and are organised in small brigades of two or three battalions for "local warfare." [2]

[1] A crown is about twenty-one cents. [2] See "Statesman's Year Book."

Religion.—There are mainly three religious creeds in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Of the total population 43 per cent. belong to the Serb-Orthodox Church, 35 per cent. are Serb-Mohammedans, 21 per cent. are Roman Catholics—among the Roman Catholics being counted all of the foreign officials and the army of occupation, or, rather, the army of annexation, as it has recently become—0.5 per cent. of the inhabitants are Jews, 0.2 per cent. Protestants.

The Mohammedan population are the descendants of the old Servian feudal landlords of Turkish days, and still live under the agricultural régime of the sixteenth century. Their highest religious authority is the Sheik-ul-Islaam at Constantinople, who is locally represented by a legate called the "Reis-el-Ulema." The expenses in those lands of the Mohammedan cult—of mosques, schools, hospitals, baths, etc.—are met by the income from the entailed religious landed estates called "vacouf." The vacouf is at present administered by the Austro-Hungarian Government.

The Roman Catholic population are found mostly around Travnik and Mostar; the non-native Roman Catholics are Austro-Hungarians.

From the time of the Turkish invasion in the fifteenth century up to the Austrian occupation in 1878 the religious life of the Bosnian Roman Catholics centred in the Franciscan monasteries, with their bishop at Travnik. Those Franciscan monks were looked on with kindness by the other creeds, with whom they were not unsympathetic in their dealings; but since 1878 the administration of the Roman Catholic Church interests has been taken out of the

hands of the Franciscans and delivered over to the Jesuits. The present head of Catholic authority in those lands is the Archbishop of Serayevo and the Bishops of Mostar, Banyaluka, and Trebigne.

The Orthodox Serbs, forming numerically the strongest element of the population, have as religious head the Orthodox Metropolitan at Serayevo and the two Bishops of Dolna-Tuzla and Mostar.

Education.—The schooling in Bosnia-Herzegovina is in general poor; the lower schools are all denominational.

Those which are Roman Catholic are subventioned by the Austro-Hungarian Government. The Mohammedan schools are supported by the vacouf foundations, and the Orthodox schools have no subvention, but are kept up by the Orthodox Church communities. These Church communities exist in all Serb lands, and are the centres of national remembrance and hope.

Education is not compulsory, though it is free in the lower grades.

In 1907 there were 379 elementary (denominational) schools, Catholic and Orthodox Christian, and, of lower Mohammedan schools, 940. There were also five gymnasia, one *Realschule*, or modern school; one military school for the sons of Austro-Hungarian officers and government employees; also eleven girls' schools, nine commercial schools, three seminaries for the education of priests—Roman Catholic, Serb-Orthodox, and Serb-Mohammedan (Law school); three training colleges for teachers, one for each creed. Technical and industrial schools exist

in several of the larger towns. There has been some slight attempt at introducing the teaching of practical agriculture in certain village schools.

Justice, Crime, Pauperism.—There is an upper court of justice in Serayevo, six district courts and fifty-one county courts of first instance. All judges in all courts are imported from Austria-Hungary. In the district and county courts two "assessors" are allowed from the inhabitants to "advise" the judge in criminal causes. Judges are appointed by the Austro-Hungarian Government, and are removable by advice to the Government by the Austro-Hungarian political officials in Bosnia.

There is a great deal of starvation; during 1902 three thousand families, numbering about ten thousand persons, were starving and obliged to emigrate. They went into Servia. The yearly emigration is very large. There are no reliable statistics available for pauperism and crime.

Of the inhabitants, 1,400,000, or 88 per cent., are connected with agriculture; 2.13 per cent. are landlords, owning vast estates; 33.45 per cent. are free agriculturalists, owning land; 38.25 per cent. are "Kmets," whose condition makes them practically serfs; 11.26 per cent. are "Kmets," who possess certain free holdings in addition to the land to which they are bound; 3.25 per cent. are otherwise occupied in agriculture (hired labourers).

The taxes and various charges due to government and landlord (collected for the landlord by the government) amount to from 75 per cent. to 80 per cent. on the average, and not infrequently to 90 per cent.

and 95 per cent. of the agriculturalists' gross returns. It is a system which is steadily dispossessing and pauperising the agricultural classes, driving them from their land to the profit of the big estates.

Products and Industries

The chief food staples of the population are milk, sheep-cheese, maize, rice, and mutton.

Of the total area, 2,335,894 hectares are arable land. Of this, 1,030,246 hectares are ploughed soil, 929,226 are pastures, 331,246 are meadows, 34,413 are gardens, and 5,760 are vineyards.

The harvest average is 17,178,000 metric quintals, the half of which is maize and fodder; 5,500,000 metric quintals of grain, 2,700,000 metric quintals of vegetables and fruit, 650,000 metric quintals of potatoes, 350,000 metric quintals of sugar-beets, grown near Doboj, 32,000 metric quintals of tobacco.

The southern valleys of Herzegovina grow almonds, chestnuts, figs, and pomegranates. The plum harvest is 240,000 metric quintals. The grape harvest is 64,000 metric quintals.

There are in Bosnia-Herzegovina 245,000 horses and mules, 1,417,000 cattle, 3,230,000 sheep, 1,447,000 goats, 662,000 pigs.

The horses are small, being crossed with Arab blood. They are hardy, and make good pack-horses and mountain climbers. Sheep and goats are mostly bred in Herzegovina, where the town of Livno is the great wool market. Most of the pigs and fowls are raised in the Posavina district. There are 140,000 beehives in the country.

Among the hills and mountains game is plenteous, both big and small. The swamps abound in water-fowl.

About 50 per cent. of the total area comprises woods and forests. Of this wooded area, 58 per cent. is covered by deciduous trees; 42 per cent. by cone-bearers of the pine order.

Of the 2,580,000 hectares of forest land, 2,029,000 are State property; 551,000 belong to the Mohammedan vakouf.

About the inhabited places and the parts traversed by roads, trees are sparse, and where once cut down do not again appear. A characteristic of the Bosnian formation is that deforestation develops a Carst or bleak limestone surface, the soil being quickly washed away by the rains.[1] Where the land has not been denuded of trees, the soil remains and yields fine harvests.

Mining.—Bosnia-Herzegovina is rich in mineral and ore deposits. The mining industry was very important in this region during antiquity and in the Middle Ages, but under Turkish rule it was entirely

[1] A remarkable instance of this action is to be observed on the Romanya Planina, near Serayevo, which was the scene of a picturesque incident at the time of the Austrian occupation; the Austrian troops erected several blockhouses on the Romanya Planina, and it was thought advisable to utilise the spot for the cultivation of vegetables for the garrison. It was intended also in this way to give a lesson in scientific agriculture to the good inhabitants of the country, who had repeated to the Austrians the popular Bosnian saying, "If you disturb the trees and boulders on our mountains, the earth becomes cursed ground." The soldiers, in scorn of such superstition, were set to work to remove the many large stones which littered the land; they had hardly finished that hard and arduous clearing when a storm of rain swept over the country; the Bora blew, and behold the place was again covered even more thickly than before with stones and boulders, both huge and small! The surface had simply melted down, baring a new layer of the same formation.

abandoned, and the very location of the mines was forgotten. Coal deposits are being again worked at Senitza and Krtchka, near Dolna-Tuzla. These two mines produced, in 1900, 2,296,432 metric quintals of coal, with a working staff of 807 miners.

The copper deposits near Senyiaka are beginning to be worked. Manganese ore is worked at Chelianovich and Vogoshtcha, and produced 50,000 metric quintals in 1900. Chrome is found at Douboshtina, gold in the Vrbas and Lashva Rivers, near Travnik. There are silver mines, the famous mines of the Middle Ages, at Srebenitza, on the Servian border; they were the property, in 1400, of despot Stephan Lazarovich. There are lead mines at Olovo, salt springs at Siminhan and Dolna-Tuzla (Tuzla means salt, in Turkish). The Austro-Hungarian salt monopoly produced from these springs 125,000 metric quintals of salt in 1900.

Mercury is found near Foynitza and Kreshevo, and yielded thirty-eight metric quintals in 1900. Deposits of antimony and of gypsum exist at various points in Bosnia. Crude oil has been found near Roshanye. There are many mineral springs near Srebrenatza, hot sulphur waters near Gata, at Jlidze, and at Banyaluka, and bitter-salt springs near Dolna-Tuzla.

Industries.—Prior to the Austrian occupation the entire industry of the country was the home or cottage industry, including carpet-weaving, embroidery, needle-work, cotton and silk gossamer weaving, inlaid metal work, gold and silver filigree, and arms, especially swords, wrought finely and inlaid with silver and other metals.

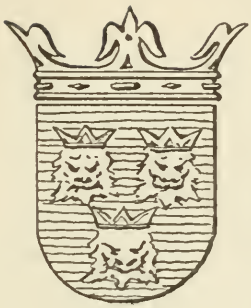
The Austro-Hungarian Government brought in factory industries which are in foreign hands encouraged and protected by many privileges. These privileges are such that the foreign-owned industries become private monopolies. There is at Serayevo a carpet and tapestry factory, where the famous handmade French "Gobelin" make is imitated with machinery. Iron and steel works are at Zenitza and Varosh, an oil-refining plant at Brod. In addition to those are various factories for making alcohol, ammonia, soda, soap, candles, paper, cloth, leather, liquor, sugar, beer; four Government tobacco factories, and the Electrical Carbid Works.

Lines of Communication.—There are 679 miles of railroad, nearly all narrow-guage. The principal line is Brod-Serayevo-Mostar-Gabela-Gravosa (346 miles).

The post-offices, all military, are 89 in number; the military telegraph offices, 159. There are also 213 miles of telephone lines.

Commerce.—The value of the exports to Austria-Hungary was estimated in 1907 to be 112,100,703 crowns, and that of the imports to 114,492,195 crowns. The exports comprise raw products, wood, coal, animals, hides, wool, wax, prunes, grains, minerals, and tobacco. The imports are food stuffs, flour, manufactured articles. Of the exports, 97 per cent. are to Austria-Hungary, and the entire imports are from Austria-Hungary.

2. DALMATIA (UNDER AUSTRIA)



THE Austrian province of Dalmatia, called the "Kingdom" of Dalmatia, is a strip of territory extending for 390 kilometres along the eastern shore of the Adriatic, with a width varying from two to seventy kilometres. It is the extreme western boundary of the Serb Block. The northern boundary touches Croatia, while on the east it is flanked by Bosnia and Herzegovina, the narrow southern confine edging on Montenegro. Tongues of Herzegovina reach out to the sea-shore across this long, narrow stretch of coastwise land, transsecting it at two points, at Kleck and Sutorina. These strips of territory were ceded to Turkey by old Ragusa (Dubrovnik), with the design of interposing barriers between herself and Venetian Dalmatia.

Twenty larger islands and numerous smaller ones, with many small projections called "scogliae," lie thickly strewn along the entire water-front. This water-front, of 520 kilometres, is rocky and precipitous in character, and is broken by promontories and peninsulas, forming a large number of bays and straits.

Population.—According to the census of 1900 the population numbered 593,789, with a yearly increase of 1.26 per cent. To every square kilometre there are forty-six inhabitants, with a proportion of 1,000 males to 968 females. The yearly emigration is large.

Of the population, 96.65 per cent. are Serbs, 2.61 per cent. are Italians residing in the towns, the islands, and the ports.

Towns rich in historic association from ancient days front on the sea-coast line: Zara, Sebenico (Shibenik), Trau, Spalato (Splet), whose sea front is to-day formed by the ancient walls of the palace of the Roman Emperor Diocletian; Ragusa (Dubrovnik), to whose walls still cling fragments of the proud and powerful little republic, respected by the Turks and Venetians, and reduced only by modern French and Austrian invaders. All of these towns of the Adriatic had great commercial importance up to 1815, the time when they were incorporated into Austria. Since then general trade has declined and shrivelled to merely local coastwise traffic, until to-day they are more or less dead—interesting chiefly as monuments of a flourishing and magnificent past.

Administration

Dalmatia is an Austrian province called a "Kingdom," whose king is the Emperor of Austria. He rules by means of a Governor, assisted by a local diet including, besides the Roman Catholic Archbishop and the Orthodox Bishop of Zara, forty-one members, elected by direct ballot in the towns and indirect voting in the country districts. This provincial diet is able to legislate on matters which do not depend upon the central Parliament at Vienna. It regulates the local affairs relating to taxes, cultivation of the soil, education (under restrictions con-

tained in laws passed by the Vienna Parliament), charity institutions, and public works.

Dalmatia sends eleven members to the Reichsrath, or Austrian Parliament, in Vienna. The voting for them is by so-called universal suffrage, which is controlled, however, by the system of districts, resulting in the return of the majority of representatives for the minority of the electorate.

The country is divided into thirteen administrative districts, under "district captains." Most of the officials are German, sent from Austria.

The Army.—Dalmatia furnishes to the Austrian common army eight battalions of infantry, one regiment (four battalions) to the Austrian "Landwehr," with one squadron of Landwehr cavalry. Dalmatia is also a recruiting territory for the Austro-Hungarian navy.

Religion.—The Roman Church is represented by the Archbishop of Zara and five Bishops—of Sebenico, Spalato, Lesina, Ragusa, and Cattaro. The Servian Orthodox Church is represented by the two Bishops of Zara and Cattaro; they are placed by the Austrian Government under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan residing at Czernovitz, in Galitzia, on the Russian border, distant more than one thousand miles.

Education.—Dalmatia holds six Roman Catholic theological seminaries, subventioned by the State, for the training of priests; the Serb-Orthodox Church has no seminaries, and its parishes are frequently unable to procure a priest. There are two schools for the training of secular teachers, one male, one

female; five "gymnasia," with classical courses; two "*réale*" schools, or high schools, non-classical; and one agricultural school. There are 367 elementary public schools and twenty private schools.

Products and Industries

Of the total area, 10.7 per cent. are lands devoted to agriculture, 46.3 per cent. to grazing, 6.4 per cent. to vineyards, and 3.7 per cent. to garden and meadow land. There are only 30.9 per cent. of underwood or brushwood and low forest.

In 1901 the main crop was 695,000 metric quintals of grain foods, especially maize; 32,000 hectolitres of peas, beans, and other pod vegetables; 192,800 metric quintals of potatoes. The entire harvest was not sufficient for the nourishment of the population; it was necessary to cover the lack of food by imports.

Only olive-oil, 66,300 metric quintals, and wine, 1,355,800 hectolitres, met the domestic demand and showed some surplus for export. Cherries, almonds, melons, figs, pomegranates, and quinces are the principal fruits. Dalmatia produced 16,700 metric quintals of tobacco. Large fields of wild chrysanthemums are cultivated for the manufacture of insect powder to the amount of 5,100 metric quintals. The grass lands gave 2,550 metric quintals of hay; the forests yielded 445,000 cubic metres of wood. There is not much cattle or horse raising on account of the scarcity of fodder.

In 1901 the country possessed 26,368 horses, 38,506 donkeys, 108,216 cattle, 88,039 sheep, 187,676 goats, and 56,748 pigs.

Dalmatia is poor in game, either big or small, except in regard to water-fowl in the Neretva (Narenta) delta.

Bees are largely cultivated, on the islands especially, the total number of hives being 24,413. Silk cocoons amounted to 20,000 kilogrammes. The sea-fishing industry employed 8,461 fishermen and 1,955 boats. The fish, molluscs, and sponges put on the market in 1901 brought 2,417,000 crowns.

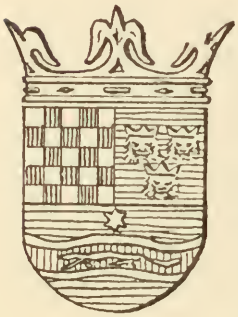
The mineral products included that year 1,320,955 metric quintals of brown coal, especially from the mines on Monte Promino. Limestone and marble quarries are found in Dalmatia; sea-salt is a monopoly belonging to the Austrian Government, and produced at Arbe, Pago and Stagno, in 1901, 69,563 metric quintals.

Industries.—There is barely any industry beyond home-crafts for local employment, with the exception of the manufacture of liqueurs, Maraschino and Rosoglio. Attached to these factories are glass-blowing works for the production of the necessary bottles. There are a few chalk and brick kilns, oil presses, flour mills, soap factories, and fish-preserving concerns.

In several ports are small yards for the construction of fishing boats and other small coast craft. The population furnishes, as it has during many centuries past, the finest sailors in the Mediterranean, cool, determined, hardy, and steady. The number of registered boats of all kinds in the province is 7,832, of 42,109 tons, with 19,330 sailors. At the sixty-seven ports there were 50,366 calls during the year, with 7,320,344 tons. There are 326 kilometres of rail-

ways in the country, 149 post-offices, 110 telegraph offices, and three banks, besides two savings banks and sixteen loan institutions.

3. CROATIA-SLAVONIA (UNDER HUNGARY)



THE territory of those semi-autonomous provinces, designated the "United Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia," occupies, with Istria, the extreme north-western region of the Serb-inhabited Block, clasping and partly encircling north-western Bosnia, forming an arm whose elbow touches Trieste at the head of the Adriatic Sea, whose forearm extends down the coast to the northern limits of Dalmatia, and whose upper arm and shoulder lie eastward across southern Hungary up to the Danube River above Belgrade, Servia. The total area of Croatia-Slavonia is 16,423 square miles.

Population.—The census of 1901 gave the population as 2,400,766, and the garrisons counted as 2,416,-304, of whom 1,209,533 were males and 1,206,971 females, averaging 56.8 persons per square kilometre.

There are 1,478,825 Serbo-Croats who are Roman Catholics, 612,604 Serbo-Croats who are Orthodox, and 12,810 Serbo-Croatian "Uniats" (Orthodox Christians recognising the supremacy of the Pope), making the Serbo-Croats a total of 87 per cent. of the population. There are 134,000 Germans, 90,000 Magyars, and some few Italians and Jews.

Administration and Political Organisation

When the "Ausgleich" was made in 1867 between Austria and Hungary, Croatia had to choose between remaining an Austrian province ruled in the German tongue by Germans or accepting the offer of Hungary of semi-autonomy and dependency upon Hungary. The arrangement between Hungary and Croatia forms a treaty called the "Nagoda," made in 1868, to which several clauses were added in 1873. The Croats stipulated that the official language for all interior affairs should be Serbo-Croat.

The administration was settled to be under a "Banus" as Lord Lieutenant, appointed by the Emperor of Austria as King of Hungary. The Ban is responsible to the King, to the Hungarian Prime Minister, and to the Croatian Diet.

The Ban is assisted by a Government committee called the "Croatian Government," forming three autonomous departments: Interior, Justice and Cults, and Public Instruction. This board of government is represented in the Hungarian Cabinet by one minister called "Minister for Croatia-Slavonia." The financial administration is in the hands of six Directors of Finance.

The legislative body of Croatia is the Diet, which has the right to legislate on questions of interior administration, cult, public instruction, and justice, except in all matters affecting naval and marine affairs and naturalisation and citizenship.

The Croatian Diet has one hundred and twelve members elected for a period of three years—in the

country districts by indirect election and in the towns by direct ballot.

The members include, in addition to the elected representatives, the Catholic Archbishop of Zagreb, the Orthodox Servian Patriarch of Carlovitz, six Bishops, and the Dean of the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Zagreb, the eight Zhupans who are the administrative heads of the eight "comitats," or counties, the "Comes" of Turopolye, and the eight "Magnates," or feudal lords, who are mostly of foreign origin.

Of these members of the Croatian Diet, all the Archbishops and Bishops and the Roman Catholic Dean of Zagreb and three Croatian Magnates have seats in the Hungarian House of Magnates at Buda-Pesth, while forty members of the Croatian Diet sit in the Hungarian Lower House, or Reichstag.

Croatia is separated administratively into eight counties, the heads of which are the Vice-Zhupans. There are seventy subdivisional districts and seventeen so-called Royal Free towns, with elected autonomous magistrates or mayors.

All questions relating to Commerce, Industry, Mining, Agriculture, Public Works, Communications, Post and Telegraph, Finance and War depend directly upon the Hungarian ministries or legislation.

Budget.—Of the total revenue of Croatia, 56 per cent. is paid into the Hungarian treasury, the remaining 44 per cent. being the only amount available to meet the expenses of the Autonomous Croat administration. In 1901 the total revenue was 44,683,723 crowns, which, after deducting the expenses of collec-

tion and official manipulation, left a net revenue of 36,120,150 crowns, so that the 56 per cent. to Hungary was 20,227,284 crowns and the remaining 44 per cent. for Croatia was 15,892,864 crowns. The Croatian apportionment, having to cover all administrative and public affairs, educational, etc., in the country, cannot ever come near to being sufficient. The Croatian exchequer is in a chronic state of deficit. In 1904 the internal Croatian budget called for an expenditure of 20,600,000 crowns, creating for that year a deficit of 3,800,000 crowns.[1]

Credit.—There are in Croatia 198 financial institutions. Among these are seventy-five savings banks, twenty-one ordinary banks, and one mortgage bank. Zagreb, Esseg, and Zengg have chambers of commerce.

Justice.—There are nine Royal courts and sixty-nine District Courts of Justice of first instance, one court of second instance called the "Banial table," and a Supreme Court called the "Table of Septemvirs," with seven judges.

The Army.—Croatia and Slavonia furnish to the common Austro-Hungarian army one army corps, the Thirteenth, composed of two infantry divisions, each of two brigades, the brigade of two infantry regiments of four battalions each; one cavalry brigade of two cavalry regiments, each of six squadrons; one

[1] It is interesting to contrast with these figures the income of the free Kingdom of Servia with an area and population of about the same extent and the same race. The income of the Servian Kingdom was, in 1907, 95,000,000 francs, with a well-balanced expenditure, leaving a revenue surplus of 41,000 francs. Servia with no emigration and no paupers, Croatia with an enormous emigration of uneducated and unskilled labor and a population practically starving.

artillery brigade consisting of one corps artillery regiment, armed with howitzers, and three divisional field artillery regiments, and all the other necessary army corps field establishments.

To the Hungarian Honved (militia) Croatia and Slavonia furnishes one infantry division of two brigades and four regiments. This division has the Serbo-Croat language as language of command, and is called the "Domobrantzi" (Croatian militia).

Religion.—In Croatia the 227 parishes of the Servian Orthodox Church, which is independent and has for head the Servian Patriarch of Karlovitz, are divided, besides the diocese of the Patriarch as Archbishop, into two more dioceses or bishoprics. There are eighteen orthodox monasteries, which are mostly situated in the Frushka Gora.

The "Uniates" (Orthodox Christians who recognise the Pope) have one Bishopric, dependent on the Roman Catholic Archbishop.

The Roman Catholic Church has one Archbishop and three Bishops. There are forty-seven Roman Catholic monasteries and convents.

Under Archbishop Strossmayer the Church in Croatia and Slavonia obtained from the Pope, Leo XIII, the restoration of the Paleo-Slovene language, instead of Latin, in the Roman Catholic services and mass. That old Slavonic church language had been in use in the Roman Catholic Church in Croatia from the introduction of Christianity up to the twelfth century, and in some localities had never been abandoned.

Education.—In Croatia-Slavonia are 1,442 public elementary schools, with 2,670 teachers and 210,544

pupils. Of the population, 44 per cent. are able to read and write. There are nine gymnasia, or classical high schools, and nine real gymnasia, or modern high schools, both giving degrees of B.A., with 329 professors and 6,898 students; one forest school; one girl lyceum; six normal schools, mixed; and three Roman Catholic seminaries for priests and one orthodox priestly seminary. The language of the schools up to 1874 was generally German, and practically no serious educational institutions existed, but since that date, as a result of the attainment of the semi-autonomy which is the present Croat régime, and of the bitterly fought insistence of the inhabitants, there has been better educational means, and the language of the schools—the people's language—the Serbo-Croat.

At Zagreb there is a university, founded in 1875, with 86 professors, 934 students; among them were, in 1905, 14 women students.

There is an agricultural school at Krishevatz, a nautical school at Buccari, five higher and four lower schools of industry and commerce, with 7,224 pupils. There are also one State and five municipal music schools, four schools for the blind, deaf, and mute, and four prison schools connected with the four State prisons.

There are at Zagreb also a national library, a national museum, and an art school—the Croatian South Slavonic Academy of Science—with which are affiliated several scientific societies. One hundred and fourteen newspapers and periodicals appear in Croatia-Slavonia; they are published either in Serbo-

Croat (Latin alphabet), in Serb (Cyrillic alphabet), in German, and several in the Magyar language.

Products and Industries

The Serbo-Croat population is chiefly agricultural. The Germans, with the exception of some few colonists who are agriculturalists, are petty manufacturers and industrial skilled labourers and employees on the great landed estates. The garrison are German and Magyar, as are also many of the Government officials. The Italians live in the coast towns. Of the population, 85 per cent. are agricultural. In the districts north of the Kulpa the productive area is 94 per cent.; in the Carst region it is 81.5 per cent. Of these areas, 32 per cent. is arable and garden land; 38 per cent. is woodland, especially oak and beech forests; 23 per cent. is pasture and grazing land, and 1 per cent. is devoted to vineyards.

The principal products are 3,700,000 metric quintals of wheat, 1,400,000 metric quintals of rye, 700,000 metric quintals of barley, 900,000 metric quintals of oats, 5,200,000 metric quintals of maize and all kinds of vegetables, beets, flax, hemp, colza, woods (oak and beech), prunes, wine (especially in Syrmia), and tobacco near Pozhega. In Slavonia there is much cattle and horse raising, and droves of hogs roam in the oak forests. Many fowl are produced there also, but not many sheep. In 1905 there were in the country 311,359 horses, 908,780 cattle, 595,902 sheep, 22,418 goats, 882,952 hogs, 2,459 donkeys, 1,002 mules, 3,349,208 fowl, and 96,334 beehives.

The rivers abound in fish, and in the marshes about Esseg a considerable culture of leeches is carried on. Of all countries of the Serb Block, Croatia is perhaps the least rich in mineral and ore deposits. There are some sulphur mines near Radoboye, iron-ore mines near Roude, coal near Rasinye, in North-west Croatia, and brown coal at different points between the Drava and Kulpa Rivers and in the Frushka Gora.

Industries.—The industries in the towns are in the hands of petty manufacturers and handicraftsmen; in the country there are only domestic and cottage industries. These are especially the spinning and weaving of wool, silk, and linen. The peasants weave the "Tchellims" carpets similar to those woven in all the other Servian lands. In Syrmia about 17,000 men and 145,000 women weave the fine silk and cotton texture called "misir." These gauzes frequently contain silver and gold threads, are crinkly in surface, and are equal to the very finest Indian weaves of the same nature. These textures are also woven throughout all the other Servian lands. In the former military confines where the great forests are, the cottage industry chiefly concerns wooden manufacture, including not only fine wood carvings, but articles such as barrels, tubs, wooden implements, bowls, dishes, etc.

The large factory industry is only a new development. There are 110 such factories employing 9,862 workmen. They manufacture cement, glass, paper, furniture, wood flooring (parquetry), machinery, leather, stoneware pottery, tannin, bricks, wooden-

ware, and tobacco. There are also steam saw-mills, cotton and woollen mills, flour mills, several small ship-building yards, and 23,000 spirit distilleries. The number of the petty manufacturers in the towns is 30,000.

Commerce.—The exports of Croatia include grain, wool, wine, etc. The littoral exports chiefly wood. Slavonia exports grains, hides, oxen, hogs, honey, plums, apples, slivovitza (or plum brandy), and bee's-wax, eggs, and fowls.

Manufactured articles of luxury and art form the chief import.

Croatia possesses ten small seaports with an almost purely local commerce; they are Buccari, Porto-Re, Szelce, Novi, Zengg, Cirkvenitza, San Giorgio, Stinizza, Jablanacz, and Carlopago. The coastwise traffic is in the hands of the Hungaro-Croatian Steamship Company. The traffic on the rivers Danube and Drava up to Legrad, and on the Sava and Kulpa up to Karlstadt, is carried on by the Hungarian Danube Lloyd Steamship Company.

Lines of Communication.—As Croatia south of the Kulpa has few railways, the traffic is mainly by wagon road. Three of these wagon roads are Karlovatz (Karlstadt)-Ryeka (Fiume), Karlovatz-Zengg, Karlovatz-Porto-Re. The Hungarian State Railroad runs lines from Gross-Kanisha through Zagreb (Agram) to Ryeka (Fiume), from Zagreb to Dobrlin, from Zagreb to Brod-Dalya-Esseg, Brod-Vincovce-Zemun (Semlin); in all, 1,808 kilometres. Zagreb and Esseg possess short lines of street railways.

4. BANAT AND BATCHKA (UNDER HUNGARY)

BANAT and Batchka represent to-day only an old geographical expression for the Hungarian "Comitats" (counties) of Batch-Bodrog, Torontal, Temesh, and Krasso. A part of the old military confines have also been absorbed into these comitats. They form the northern limits of the great Serb-inhabited Block and comprise southern Hungary up to the Maros River, being bounded on the west by the southern trend of the Danube River and on the east by the Transylvanian Carpathians; while on the south they join the northern border of Servia, from which they are separated only by the Danube in its eastern course.

The area is 14,459 square miles.

The Banat and Batchka, before being finally absorbed into Hungary in 1860, formed the Austrian Crownland called the "Servian Voyvodina (Duchy) and the Banat of Temesh," with their separate administration called "Landesregierung" of the Servian Voyvodina and Temesh Banat, under a Lord Lieutenant-Governor. It was divided into five administrative districts.

The population of this area (1901) is composed of 758,862 Servians, forming a solid mass in the southern part of the territory, the former "Servian Voyvodina," and in the other portions, the Banat of Temesh, intermingled sparsely with 560,229 Roumanians in the Carpathian region, 449,557 Germans and 344,133 Magyars in the northern districts. Of these, 1,300,000

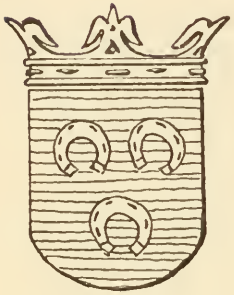
Map showing the

Block of Territory.

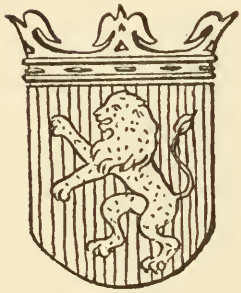
ment sent agents to the non-Magyar districts, who took by force large numbers of the poorer children from their parents and carried them away to Magyar localities, where they were brought up as Magyars and not allowed to know either their parents or their religion. The attention of Europe was in time drawn to these practices, and aroused such protests that these outrages have during the past few years been discontinued.

Products.—These lands form vast plains rich with alluvial soil up to the slopes of the Carpathians on the east. They yield plenteous harvests of wheat, barley, rye, maize, oats, rice, tobacco, colsa, nuts, fruits, wine, and honey. They are famous for their fine horses and cattle. The rivers Maros, Theiss, Danube, and their tributaries abound in many kinds of fish, including the sturgeon. The hilly and mountainous districts are rich in minerals and ore deposits —gold, silver, lead, zinc, iron, copper, and coal. Among many mineral springs the most famous are the Roman Baths of Mehadia on the Roumanian border.

5. OLD SERVIA—STARA SRBIYA (UNDER TURKEY-IN-EUROPE)



Rashka



Macedonia

OLD Servia (Vilayet of Kossovo with Sandjak of Novi-Bazar, and parts of the vilayets of Monastir and Salonika), joining Servia on the north, Bosnia, Montenegro, and Albania on the west and south-west and on the eastern side the region of the river Struma, forms the southernmost limit of the Serb-inhabited Block of territory. These lands, lying in central and north-western Macedonia, are part of Turkey.

There are no reliable statistics of the population, but the "Statesman's Year Book" places the number of inhabitants of Kossovo Vilayet at 1,038,000. The local church records show 711,556 Servians and 250,000 as estimated to be the number of Mohammedan and Roman Catholic Albanians. The number of Servians on the Servian Church registers of the Serb part of the vilayet of Monastir is 314,000. The only statistics available for the Vilayet of Salonika (population, 1,127,000) state 700,000 of the inhabitants to be "Christian." Of these, 525,000 are Servians and Bulgarians, the rest Greeks and Vlachs. Of the inhabitants, 427,000 are Mohammedans—

either of Asiatic or Slavonic origin, and in the town of Salonika there are a large number of Jews.

In the diocese of Doyran, in Macedonia, Vilayet of Salonika, near the Bulgarian border, 40 per cent. of the Slavonic population are under the Patriarch of Constantinople and call themselves Servians; 60 per cent. are under the Bulgarian Exarch and call themselves Bulgarians.

In the district of Yenidje-Vardar, on the Vardar River, Vilayet of Salonika, north-west of Salonika, 88 per cent. of the Slavs belong to the Patriarchat, and in general call themselves Serbs or Macedo-Slovenes—terms which are, as used, interchangeable; 12 per cent. are under the Bulgarian Exarch and call themselves Bulgarians. In the Sandjak of Drama, Vilayet of Salonika, eastward beyond the river Struma, 75 per cent. of the Slavs are under the Patriarch of Constantinople and call themselves Servians and Macedo-Slovenes, while 25 per cent. are under the Exarchat and call themselves Bulgarians. In the district of Salonika, Vilayet of Salonika, 60 per cent. of the Slavs are under the Patriarchat, calling themselves Servians or Macedo-Slovenes, while 40 per cent. are under the Exarchat, calling themselves Bulgarians.

Administration.—The administration is Turkish, the officials being Turks appointed from Constantinople. The Christians have little or no part in their own government. Speaking in general, the Christian population in these regions are still in a condition of serfdom, and their oppression under the late Turkish absolute régime, notorious throughout the world, was

usually referred to as the "Macedonian Problem." The present "New" Turkish State promises the reforms so long needed for the regeneration of the people and the economic development of the country's resources.

Hitherto, under Turkish rule, the Christians have not been allowed to carry arms or to serve in the army, but instead have been obliged to pay an "army tax."

Education.—The Servian Church communities support 284 Servian schools in Old Servia.

The Servian schools are the most ancient educational institutions in Turkey, and were the only ones there from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century. They were connected with the Serb monasteries and churches. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries these schools increased much in number and scope. In 1878, after the Serbo-Turkish war, the Turkish Government closed many of the Serb schools in Turkey, and in all such places other schools were founded by the Bulgarians. Prior to that time there had not existed any Bulgarian schools in Macedonia. During the last fifteen or twenty years only has the Ottoman Government permitted the reopening of Servian schools.

Of the present 283 Servian schools, 266 are primary —227 for boys and 39 for girls; eight are high schools; one a girls' handicraft school; five are incomplete gymnasia (classical), two of these being for girls and three for boys; one complete classical school for boys at Salonika; one normal school for teachers at Uskub (Scoplyia); and one seminary for priests at Prisren.

Of these schools, 209 are in the Vilayet of Kossovo, 28 in Salonika, 43 in Monastir Vilayet, two at Scutari, and two at Constantinople.

Products.—The earth of these lands is rich both as regards soil and minerals, but the conditions of misery and chronic disorder hitherto prevailing have blocked the way to every kind of normal development. The mines of Old Servia were famous in antiquity and the Middle Ages, and with those of Spain were the chief source of gold and silver for Europe. Old records show that the gold and silver mines near Novo Brdo, in Kossovo, close to the present Servian border, furnished to the Servian ruler in the early fifteenth century an annual income of about $480,000 (about 200,000 ducats). From the time of the Turkish conquest all mining ceased, and only recently has that industry begun to be revived in Turkey. It is hoped that under a liberal and constitutional government a better day is dawning for the people of Old Servia and their country.

Lines of Communication.—The great natural north-to-south route from the Danube to the Ægean Sea, through the valley of the Morava and Vardar Rivers, traverses this country, cutting through some of its richest districts. The railway making junction at Zibevtche on the Servian border with the Serb part of the Orient-Express line lies through this valley to Salonika.

Architecture and Monuments.—There are in Macedonia many beautiful mediæval churches, monasteries, and other buildings with ruined castles, and they all date from the Old Servian Empire and Kin

doms, as do also all of the people's songs, traditions, and their whole poetic expression.

Kossovo was the heart and centre of that old empire and the scene of the far-famed battle-field where its final overthrow—after one hundred and fifty years' fight—was begun in that terrific shock of June 15, 1389, when the whole force of the Servian nation gathered in defence against the whole huge strength and myriad numbers of the invading Turkish hosts.

SERB POPULATION ESTIMATED FOR DECEMBER, 1909 (*on basis of yearly percentage of increase*)

A. INDEPENDENT SERVIAN LANDS

Kingdom of Servia	2,923,000
Principality of Montenegro	280,000

B. SERVIAN LANDS UNDER FOREIGN DOMINATION

Bosnia-Herzegovina (under Austria-Hungary)	1,713,000
Dalmatia (under Austria)	667,000
Istria (under Austria)	133,000
Croatia-Slavonia (under Hungary)	2,334,000
Banat and Batchka (under Hungary)	872,000
Old Servia (under Turkey)	1,376,000
Total for the Serb race	10,298,000

PART III

CIVILISATION AND CULTURE FROM EARLY TIMES UP TO THE PRESENT

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND CONDITIONS PRIOR TO ABOUT 1100.[1]

THE period referred to as "pre-Balkan" in Serb history is the time before the year 600 A.D. Prior to that date there had always been, during the Christian era and no doubt earlier, a small, steady inpouring of Slavs from the Volga and other regions north of the Carpathians, quietly coming to take up their homes in the Balkan Peninsula among the remnants of the Slavs of antiquity and the few scattered colonists of other races and relics of past invasions, which formed the sparse

[1] Those students of political administration and civilisation whose interest in Servian conceptions of justice and liberty, as exemplified in the institutions created by a free Servian State, may be awakened to further inquiry, are referred, for an exhaustive examination of the Code Doushan and other historical documents, to the works in German, Russian, French, and Servian upon which is based the following short survey of mediæval Servian civilisation and culture. Foremost among these are:

The works of Stoyan Novakovich: "People and Land in the Old Servian State," "Pronyari and Bashtinci," "Selo," and the "Code of the Servian Emperor, Stephan Doushan," written in Servian and translated into Russian and German.

Studies of agrarian and economic conditions, etc., by Dr. Vlainatz, written in Servian and German.

"Monumenta Serbica spectantia historiam Serbiæ, Bosnæ et Ragusii,' edited by F. Miklosich, Vienna, 1858.

Glasnik, organ of the Servian scientific societies.

Spomenik, organ of the Servian Royal Academy of Science, Belgrade.

Rad, organ of the Croatian Academy of Science, Zagreb.

"Servian Monuments in the Archives of Ragusa," edited by Prince Medo Poutchich.

populations of those regions up to the early years of the seventh century. Then occurred the great migration of Servians into these lands, which they entered as conquerors in organised tribes or Plemes.

As has already been seen (Part I, page 39), the Slav peoples from the most ancient times were organised in communities of blood-relationship: Zadrugas, including all relatives in the first, second, third, and fourth degrees; Rod, a group of Zadrugas; and Pleme or Clan, the highest formation, including all the others.

Landed property was considered as the hereditary possession of the community, and was worked in common. Land being plenteous and free, no real property rights existed. What was recognised was the right to plant where one had cleared and to harvest where one had sown.

The growth of the Zadruga usually developed into the village, which resulted sometimes in villages forming a single Rod bearing the name of a single family, as the "Brankovitche," etc. The village did not, however, always represent a single family and its relatives, but the people of a village always belonged to the same Pleme.

The Pleme or Clan (used also as "tribe") is the representative body politic, and of paramount importance socially, as well as politically, among all Slavs in general and especially the Serbs. Each Pleme occupied its own separate territory, and formed a political and territorial division.

After 600 A. D., in the great and final migration of the Serb people into the Balkan Peninsula, when they came in organised Clans or Plemes to settle their new land, the territory occupied by the Pleme was called a "Zhupa." The centre of the Zhupa was the "Grad" (the fortified place). The head or supreme authority of a Zhupa was elected, and was called "Zhupan," who in time came by custom to be chosen from one special family; and later, the right to furnish the man to be elected as Zhupan grew to be vested in the same family.

All of the affairs of the Zhupa or Pleme were in the hands of an assembly composed of the Stareshinas or heads of the Rods (or gentes).

The Emperor Constantin Porphyrogenet said, in speaking of the Serbs: "They have no princes in the ordinary sense, except elected chieftains called Zhupans, as have other Slav peoples."

Under the influences of wars of defence, and for other causes imposing special duties and measures of authority, involving differences in modes of life, class distinctions were developed. These class distinctions, however, did not bring about the domination of one class by another. Many institutions and customs show that the democratic principle of equality between man and man, regardless of place or class distinction, was never destroyed; but, on the contrary, as expressed in the representative governing assemblies, etc., that principle formed always the fundamental conception of Serb society. New conditions found by the Servian Clans at the time of their great migration and settlement of the Balkan

lands wrought by degrees changes in their social and agrarian organisation.

Factors in Those Changes.—The excellent Slav characteristics of democratic equality and freedom came at once into conflict with principles existing in Rome and Byzance, which were in every respect diametrically opposed to those of the Serb organisation.

In this conflict the Servian customs, founded on ideals of independence, came in time to be shaken, then modified, and even, to a certain extent, superseded.

The factors directly influencing these changes were external and internal, political and economic, and, according as they bore with force or lightly on the inhabitants, they conditioned the date and the extent of the assimilation by the Servians of the social and agrarian conditions of Rome and Byzance. Upon one part of the Serbs an actively modifying factor was the continual subjection to Byzance. Among the other part of the Serb people, although the subjection was but temporary, there was still unceasing outer intercourse with Byzance, and within were modifying factors of a personal or material nature.

When the Serbs had entered and taken possession of the Balkan lands, Byzance, being unable to hold them in submission, obtained from them acceptance of the imperial suzerain authority, and a small tribute in return for recognition of Servian tribal autonomy.

Lorenz von Stein says: "Conquest in subjugating a population gives to the conqueror superior

Ruins of the Castle at Uzhitza

rights over the soil." Though the Balkans were much depopulated before the Serbs entered in general migration, they found some few inhabitants whom they placed under subjection, thus forming two classes, one of free men—that is, the conquerors; the others the old settlers, the conquered. Clan feuds and clan fights among the conquerors, continual contact with Byzance on one side and Western Europe on the other, all tended to modify the old pre-existing Slav institutions and customs of the Serbs in the sense of falling away of democracy.

Social development and the evolution of social conditions are always in closest relationship with agriculture—that is, with the means of cultivation and the tenure of the soil and distribution of produce.

When the Serbs took possession of these lands, they found there a complete system of agrarian and social organisation, which the Byzantine rulers attempted to impose or introduce among the newcomers. In so far as a transformation was effected, it occurred only by degrees—more swiftly with those coming earlier under direct Byzantine rule; slowly with those who were never the direct subjects of Byzance but remained semi-dependent, and who preserved their self-government, maintaining a more or less unhampered national life under Byzantine suzerainty.

For purposes of study the Serbs up to the beginning of the twelfth century must be considered in two groups:

Those who became and remained direct subjects of Byzance for tens and hundreds of years, and those who maintained their self-government and national independent existence whether or not under Byzantine superior rule.

1. DIRECT SUBJECTS OF BYZANCE

The Serbs belonging to this section were those of the earlier and small inflowings who had been coming a few at a time during several hundred years to take their place among the inhabitants as subjects of Byzance. On arrival they had the choice of two alternatives, either to become free peasants on government land, or to become soldiers with the prospect of a small land-apportionment. The regions they inhabited in the eighth century were southern Thracia, southern Macedonia, and northern Greece.

For purposes of this survey of conditions which the Serbs had to meet on their arrival in Byzantium, only those affecting rustic and agrarian life are considered, because the Serbs did not live in the towns but always sought the land. One distinct difference evident even to-day between Greek and Slav character is that the Greek is essentially a townsman and merchant, while the Serb or other Slav is a countryman and agricultural producer.

In Byzance there were three forms of landed property finding their correlatives in the main divisions of the social strata of the empire. These kinds of properties were: the Imperial or State property; the ecclesiastical appanage of churches and monas-

teries; and privately owned property, generally in great estates—"Latifundia."

Dependent upon these for their relation to the soil and their property rights, where such existed, were the lower strata of the Byzantine population, the "Free Peasants," "Bondsmen," the "Serfs," and the "Slaves."

Intimately connected with the Imperial or State Byzantine property were the so-called "Free Peasants," who lived in communities called "Metrocomias." State lands were apportioned to them to hold in common; the members having equal rights on the soil were also each equally with the others responsible to the treasury for the amount of the State levy. The individual had only the "usus" and "fructus" of those acres periodically allotted to him. He had the privilege of parting with his share although he was not its proprietor.

This class of peasants originally dependent only upon the "Fiscus," or State, and who were denominated "Poor People" or "Common People" ("Vulgaros" or "Pauper") decreased slowly in numbers and in time disappeared.[1]

[1] In Byzance the term "Rich and Powerful" was used to designate high State officials and the possessors of Latifundia. All of the other inhabitants came under the classification of "Poor people." There was also used to designate this class "vulgaros," a corruption of the Latin for "Common people," which came to be pronounced "bougar."

All of the Byzantine writers and those of the Turkish times including Hadji Khalfa, a famous Turkish geographer of the early seventeenth century, in mentioning the Slovenes inhabiting the lands of the Strouma and those westward of that river, apply to them the national name of "Servians," which was used also by the people themselves to designate those populations up to about the beginning of the nineteenth century, when, as the result of the execration by the Turks of the Serbs who were

The causes of this destruction were first and chiefly the system of tax-gathering, which in Byzance —as in the Turkey of the nineteenth century and pre-revolutionary France—lay at the bottom of many incurable ills.

In order to escape the exactions and abuses of the tax-collectors, the free peasants chose a patron-protector, voluntarily submitting to be "Clientes" under the Patrocinium of that class officially called, in contradistinction to himself, "Rich and Powerful."[1]

It often occurred that the State gave over to an individual, in payment or reward for services, the collection and enjoyment during a certain period of a Metrocomia or other State levy. This temporary privilege easily devoluted amidst the unwieldy machinery of Byzantine administration into a perpetual right. In either case the free peasant ceased to be free, and fell into the subservient position of peasants on the great lordly estates.

then successful in their great insurrections, the name "bougar" reappears as applied to the Serbo-Slovenic population of those lands.

The word "bougar" is used to-day in Turkey to indicate (1) people who follow menial pursuits; (2) a term of contempt as applied to all Slavs; (3) all kinds of menial labour is called by the Slavs themselves "bougarska rabota" (menial work); (4) anything in a state of deterioration, that is, spoiling; for instance, the inhabitants say of wheat or other grain that is "going bad" it "izbougari se." The lowest grade of grain is spoken of as "bougarka." An equivalent in the language for "simpleton" is "Asli bougar." The same term is used where the English would use the word "pauper," recalling also the French of "pouvre bougre" (poor devil). This word has no connection whatever with the national name of the citizens of Bulgaria, which is based on "Blgar, Blgarin," or Blgarska-ta" (Bulgaria). Strangers travelling in Macedonia generally confuse those terms of widely different derivation, taking "bougar" for "Blgar."

[1] It is useful here to state at once that in all dealings whatever with the rustic population of whatever order except the slaves, the unit was not the individual but the hearth or smoke-stack.

The mass of Byzantine peasants on the lordly estates, whether those of great nobles or the Church, lived in a condition of subjection and came to be called "Paroikies" (παροικος). They belonged to two categories: those of the most favoured situation were the "Coloni liberi" (free colonists), those of the second category were the "Coloni censibus adscripticii," or bonded colonists.

The *coloni liberi* were small farmers holding the land from the owner of the estate and paying rent. They performed, also, certain personal services determined by special contract. They worked the land with their own means of production, and were relatively freemen not under the jurisdiction of the landlord, but after a period of thirty years their right to leave the rented farms expired.

The *coloni censibus adscripticii*, bonded tenants, were bound to the soil as hereditary subjects of the owner of the estate. They were under his personal jurisdiction. They tilled the soil with the means of production furnished by him.

This classification and organisation were fixed by the Justinian legislation. Continual revolts resulting from the inability of the Slavonic populations to accept or understand the subjecting conditions imposed on the tiller of the soil by Byzantine usages or laws necessitated in the middle of the eighth century a reorganisation of the agrarian regulations. These laws are known as the "leges rusticæ." Their object was the lowering of the ground-rent, and the transformation of the conditions of servitude into that of rent-paying tenancy. Besides regulating the

status of the "Free husbandmen" on State lands, they decreed reforms for the "liberi" and "adscripticii" abolishing servitude. The "liberi" were transformed into the class called "Mortitis," tithe-payers, retaining their former privileges, the rent and dues to the owner of the estate being fixed at the tenth part of the harvest. The rent of the *adscripticii* to be called "farmer-in-half" was fixed at half of the harvest.

Another kind of property existing in Byzance, affecting the Serb peoples, was the "Soldier-land," held in tenancy from the State in return for the performance of certain military services.

That land could be inherited by the relatives of the incumbent up to the sixth degree of relationship, but it could not be sold or divided. Each successive heir could only enter into possession by continuing to perform the military service conditioning the original grant.[1]

The "Latifundia."—One of the great means of agricultural production in old Rome and afterward in Byzance, on the great landed estates, or "latifundia," was the slave-labour, the "servi rustici" (agrarian slaves). The word indicates the status of those labourers dispossessed of all rights and totally unremunerated, so forming the cheapest labour. The free and even the bonded tillers of the soil met in this unpaid labour, a competition which by degrees

[1] The ordinances of Emperor Constantin Porphyrogenet fixed the scale of value of these lands at four pounds (liberum) gold for cavalry and men of the Ægean, Samian, and Cyprian fleet; two liberum gold for men of the other fleets. Nikephoros Phocas, in an edict of 963, fixes the value at twelve liberum gold for men in armour.

broke their own force of resistance and degraded their own situation to almost that of slaves.

An indication of the number in which the agrarian slaves swarmed on these *Latifundia*, as well as a glimpse at social conditions of Byzance, is afforded by the papers in the settling up of the estate of the oft-cited rich "widow Danielis," in the ninth century, the Emperor Leo VI being the legatee and executor. To him personally she left eighty large properties—*Latifundia*. He found these estates so overrun by the number of slaves that he set free three thousand of them. Some years before, this same widow had made a present to the Emperor Basilius I of five hundred slaves, among which were one hundred eunuchs and one hundred female slaves highly skilled in fine embroidery and weaving.

The influence of the *leges rusticæ* was only of short duration. Very soon the great Byzantine landlords again succeeded in fixing their "Paroikes" on the glebe, and in raising the rents from the low figure established by the *leges rusticæ*.

They went even further: fortified by the cheap slave labour, they augmented and aggrandised their estates, adding to them the small acres belonging to the free peasants and the soldiers, and reducing their own bondsmen to near slavery. These manipulations were of such injury to the State, its treasury, and its military resources, as well as to the public welfare, that several of the Emperors undertook to stem the growing evil by edicts stigmatising the practices of the great lords. The co-Emperor, Romanus Lecapanus, in his edict of 928, says that these prac-

tices were carried out "by means of usury and fraudulent acquisition." Emperor Porphyrogenet, twenty years later, says: "Under the pretext of purchase, gift, inheritance, . . . etc., . . . they [the Rich and Powerful] make [add] other men's property to their own and so drive the 'Poor' from home and house."

The measures adopted in these edicts were intended to prevent the disappearance of the free peasant and the soldier agriculturalist, and to enforce restitution of the ill-gotten properties to their former petty owners. All of these ordinances forbade the "Rich and Powerful" acquiring, by any means whatever, the land of the "Poor" and declaring such acquisitions null and void. Further, they regulated the sale and purchase of the land of the free peasants so as to exclude the possibility of their falling into the hands of the "Rich and Powerful."

These edicts also decreed that all properties formerly in the possession of the "Poor" should be restored with or without compensation according to the equity of the case. Other Emperors decreed that the "Rich and Powerful" could not sell their land to another person of their own class, but only to peasants.

In time these edicts and measures were neglected and some of them rescinded, and during a certain period the principle was in usage, that land could be bought and sold only by persons of the same social status.

The last Byzantine Emperor who endeavoured to arrest the system practised by the great "possessing" classes who were bringing the State into decadence and anarchy was Basilius II. His edicts and ordinances remained in force during a century or so.

At the end of the twelfth century and beginning of the thirteenth the small free peasant class had ceased to exist.

Hermonopulos, Judge of Thessalonika (Salonika) in 1345, under John Paleologue, says in his "Manual of Law" that all these edicts are "antiquated and out of use."

The land and all sources of production in the hands of a class numerically small, the mass of the people dispossessed and in direct subjection to this powerful minority, therefore estranged from all idea of the State as a part of themselves, ready to welcome any conqueror who might give them in change a glimpse of hope—such was the condition of Byzance when that empire first brought to Europe as her hired mercenaries the mere handful of Turks who were the forerunners of the mighty invasions from the Orient which afterward filled those lands for hundreds of years and indeed up to the present time. For it is curious to observe that all of those regions which remained under Byzance up to within one hundred or fifty years of the coming of the Turks, being once subjected to the Ottomans were never again able to find strength enough to rise and throw off the yoke.

2. SERBS OF THE GREAT MIGRATION NEVER UNDER BYZANTINE DIRECT RULE—EARLY SERVIAN STATES

The Serb Clans of the great migrations of the early seventh century occupied the territories which their descendants now inhabit—that is, the western, northwestern, and central part of the Balkan Peninsula.

They always remained more or less independent and retained their self-government. Byzance was never able to impose upon them, as upon the small Serb groups which during previous centuries had drifted into the peninsula to become direct subjects of Byzance, the social system as it existed throughout the Empire at the time of their arrival. The development of social conditions among the Serbs of the great migration was, on the contrary, a natural evolution based on principles of organisation brought with them, which were common in one form or other to all Slavonic nations.

History seems to show that democratic equality cannot remain absolute among men for any length of time, especially among primitive peoples. Tilling of the soil and its defence against attack brought the first separation of classes. The plough and the sword cannot long be exercised by the same hand: the hand that wielded the sword gave protection; the hand that held the plough, grateful for that safety, rewarded the protector with fruits of its toil.

The basis of all the Slavonic social organisation, as has already been seen, is the family community, "Zadruga," among Serbs. When the Zadruga increased and subdivided into new Zadrugas, the old central house remained morally still the centre, as being the original (old) "home-hearth" and source of all the younger groups.

Ancestral worship, born of filial loyalty, was the basic conception in the old religious beliefs of Slavonic peoples. The spirits of the ancestors roamed about the old central home-hearth. Toward it as

toward a shrine all hearts were lifted. The kinsman occupying the house was the guardian of a sacred tradition and became the "Primus inter pares" of his kinsfolk. If he was not the chief of the "Rod" or "Pleme" having sprung from that central house the general atavistic sentiment invested him in a certain degree with sacerdotal character.[1]

The fact that the man who presided at the old central home-hearth became the leader and most important man caused his property to be enlarged and also his political power as representative of his kinsfolk. As administrator of the general interests being the embodiment in his own person, not of overlordship in the sense of greater means of personal enjoyment, pleasure, luxury, or pride, but the upholder of justice and right, he became the nobleman.

On purely Slavonic soil this aristocratic development as outlined required hundreds of years and was even then never wholly recognised as an institution.[2]

[1] The only nobiliary title of purely Slavonic origin is the title "Knez" (Serb), "Kniaz" (Russian and Polish), "Knizhe" (Tcheck), the equivalent of Clanschief or Prince (princeps). That title designated the man who performed for the people the sacrificial rites, a leader in religious exercises, as well as in military and political affairs. In Polish and Tcheck the priest is still called "Knes." This "First-man" was also taken to be the wisest and most learned man of the clan, and the most skilled in all lore. A scholar, a learned man, or a writer is to-day called in Servian "knizhevnik," erudition and literature are "knizhevnost," and book is "kniga or knyega." So in Russia and other Slavonic lands the only real Slavonic title is "Knez" (prince), developed from clans or tribal chief.

[2] In Russia even to-day the "Muzhik" ("little man"), or common people, has not the idea that the kniaz or nobleman is his "better," as is the case in many non-Slavonic countries, or that he is of different "flesh or blood" from himself, but he looks upon him as a more powerful "big brother," to whom as such he owes a kind of respect or deference, and who might on occasion rightfully exercise a power of authority over him, but who in sum is a man like himself.

When the Serbs came to the Balkans each Pleme or Clan occupied for itself a separate extent of territory. Each Rod, each Zadruga, took that land within the Clan domain which appeared to it most attractive. The territory of the Clan (Pleme) was the "Zhupa," its elected head was the "Zhupan," a Knez.

Constantin Porphyrogenet writes, speaking of the Serbs in Dalmatia and Bosnia, then called Illiria: "After the baptism of the Slavs the Emperor Basilius I ordered that all those christened should elect chieftains from that family which they specially honoured, and up to to-day they are ruled by chiefs issued from those families chosen under Basilius I and from no others."

Chieftains had always been elected among Serbs, but the order of Basilius to choose them from certain special families was new to Slavonic custom. That was the coming in among them of the principle of heredity.

The Clan as a clan came under direct Byzantine authority, and its chief was the representative not only of the Clan's people but of the Clan's territory, among the Clans and before the Imperial authority. That centralisation of power involving inequality of responsibility brought about a tendency toward class segregation (differentiation). The development occurred along the individualistic lines of Rome and Byzance which were in antagonism with the original Slavonic principle of common life and equality in regard to possession of land and labour. The result of the appearance of this foreign principle brought about recognition of superior rights of pos-

session over the common land of the Pleme and even of the Rod, and the hereditary chief of Pleme or Rod developed into the superior lord of the territory. The other members of the Clan or of the Rod had their material and individual independence diminished, and with time fell into the position of political subjects of the chief.

Evolution of State up to the Twelfth Century.

The Serbs of the great migration on entering the Balkan Peninsula and for some time afterward had no higher political organisation than the Clan or Pleme. Their sentiment of union or nationality was expressed in those times by temporary loose confederations effected in the hour of common danger; that hour passed, the desire for the local independence of each Clan reasserted itself and slackened the bonds.

The attempts made to subdue them by Byzance, profiting by their system of fluctuating organisation, the Tartaric conquerors of Bulgaria, the Francs, the Venetians, and later the Hungarians (Magyars), taught the Serbs that for resistance the creation of a large and vigorous State was a necessity.

Some of the Servian chiefs or Knezes, Peter Goyinikovich, Chastav, Samuel, Stephan Voislav, and Bodin, are seen making the attempt to unite with their own small States the neighbouring Servian territories.

Those rulers who united under their control a number of Clan territories, or Zhupas, were called Grand-Zhupans (Velko-Zhupan).

The Zhupans were responsible personally to the Grand-Zhupan, but the Clan within its limits had complete liberty and autonomy.

The Serbian State therefore consisted of a federation of Clans and groups of Clans, each one independent and autonomous.[1]

The size of that federation and its period of duration depended upon the individual strength of its head. Any weakness of the individual grip of that "general," Knez or King, had its reaction at once in a relaxation of the bands of the federation and a falling away of its provinces. The clear conception of a general State strong enough to resist invasion dawned by degrees in the Serb consciousness, and after several efforts and attempts found its final formulation in the State as organised by Stephan Nemanya which was adhered to in principle by his successors, culminating in the great Empire of Doushan.

Interior Organisation.—From earliest ages up to the present time the principle of absolutism never entered into the notions of the Serb people. Not only their institutions and laws, but their State and official documents attest that fact; all such ordinances and edicts—and there are hundreds of them—begin with the following formula: "We . . . [name] took council with . . . [with my wife, my sons, uncles,

[1] This severely democratic organisation possesses the fault and the great one of its quality, growing out of excessive democratic sentiment and the assertion of individual rights, involving the too great respect for the will of the minority. This fault belongs not only to the Servian nation, but to all purely Slavonic races like the Russians and the Poles, as for instance in the Polish Congress (Parliament) was the "*Liberum Veto.*"

cousins, the whole Zadruga] with the Bishops and Abbots, with the Nobility great and small, with the whole Assembly, etc. [each person generally designated by name], and we do ordain, . . . etc."

Zhupa.—In the central part of each Clan's territory or Zhupa was a fortified place, called the "Grad," containing a stronghold or castle, where lived the Zhupan or Knez, with his "aids" (in the executive duties). In the Grad met the assembly of the Zhupa, called Zbor, Sabor, or Vetche, which was the legislative body and the ultimate repository of all power in the Zhupa, political or other. It was composed of the Stareshinas of the different Rods or Zadrugas. This Assembly deliberated upon all affairs affecting the Clan. In days before the Zhupans became hereditary they were elected by the Sabor; after that time the Zhupan took the advice and counsel of the Assembly in decisions concerning all important public acts.

When the Zhupas became united into a State these Sabors retained their complete local autonomy and the Zhupans and chiefs of Rods with the Churchmen formed the National Assembly of the Grand-Zhupanat, or federations of Zhupas. Out of this developed the Great National Assembly of the kingdom, the Grand-Zhupan being elected King.

The principle of the election of kings and emperors, even if partly fictitious and dwindling at times into mere confirmation, was always maintained among the Serbs. Self-government likewise never lapsed, and was found in the free municipal or village administrations as well as in the Zhupa, and

there is no evidence, documentary or other, to indicate that the Serb State ever interfered in the organisation of the local administrations.

At the Zhupa's assembly at the Grad the judiciary were elected. In justice the fundamental principle was, "A man must be judged by his peers." At that time the highest judicial power was vested exclusively in a body of men who were chosen for short fixed terms by the Assembly from among the general people forming a kind of jury. They judged criminal as well as civil cases, and the decision depended upon their unanimity or general agreement of opinion.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL ORGANISATION FROM ABOUT 1100 TO ABOUT 1470 (SERVIAN KINGDOMS AND EMPIRE)

All of the studies of this period are based on the old documents still extant in the National and other Archives and on the "Zakonik Tzara Doushana" (Code of the Emperor Doushan), which is a codification made in 1346 by the Great National Legislative Assembly, presided over by the Emperor, of all the Servian laws, ordinances, and customary usages remaining in force from the founding of a Servian State up to that time.

1. CONSTITUTION AND ORGANISATION OF THE SERVIAN STATE

THE history of the Servian State from its earliest inception shows it to have always been governed on constitutional principles, and whether under Prince, King, or Emperor, Servia was always a constitutional monarchy—that is, the Sovereign ruled with the aid of a parliament or legislative assembly.

The Sabor or State's Assembly was already in existence under Stephan Nemanya as the normal development of an old Servian institution, and was called by him to his help in creating Servian unity. Documents show that with its assistance he elaborated laws for the suppression of Bogomilism (1173). The formulation of all laws enacted under Servian

kings, from that time up to the empire under Doushan, demonstrates that no law was passed, and no grant of land or of any other kind was made without the assent of the National Assembly.

It was the privilege of the Sabor nominally to elect the King, to acclaim him, and to be present at his coronation. It was also the Sabor's right to elect the Bishops and Archbishops and, at a later period, the Patriarch of the Servian Orthodox Church. The records of the sessions of Parliament and the details regulating its date of opening and duration are not known. But the Ruler convened the Sabor, and there is evidence that no year passed without a session of the National Assembly being held in deliberation with the Ruler.

The Sabor was composed of the Ruler; the Queen or Empress (all documents indicate that the wife of the Sovereign had a legal participation in the deliberations of the State's Assembly); the higher monastic clergy—the Patriarch, Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots; the Nobility—both great and small; and in certain cases the military leaders even when they did not belong to the nobility. In the time of Stephan Nemanya and up to King Miloutin's reign the common people were represented by delegates. In the later period those delegates or their descendants, being the headmen of villages (Stareshinas), had developed into the Nobility, which on becoming hereditary caused the practical disappearance of the elective rights of the Commoners. At a still later period attempts were made by the people to regain direct representation in the National Assembly.

In addition to the general Parliament, there existed a permanent Council of State, a kind of Privy Council, whose members were chosen from among the Sabor.

The Sabor dealt with all of the most important affairs, such as legislation, taxation, judiciary matters, measures of State and political administration, military organisation and administration, foreign affairs, wars, appropriations, and the election of Bishops.

In accordance with old Slavonic custom and the people's rights, the Ruler acted only after obtaining the counsel and consent, even if but formally, of his wife, his family, his relatives (his Zadruga), and certain lay and spiritual dignitaries (Council of State), and with them the body of the State's Assembly.

A decree of grant of the Emperor Stephan Doushan in 1349 to the monastery of "The Mother of God," says: ". . . My Imperial Majesty took counsel with . . . the Empress Madam Elena, with our son King Urosh, with the Holy Patriarch of the Serbs and Greeks, Lord Sava, and with all Archbishops and Hegumens . . . with all the Vlastela Great and Small, and with the whole Assembly of the Serbs, the Greeks and people of the Littoral . . . and do ordain: . . ." (Monumenta Serbica).

The executive power was entirely in the hands of the Ruler, who was also commander-in-chief of the army and presided over the Sabor. The voice of the Assembly, however, was at times so powerful that it overruled that of the Sovereign. There are several instances of kings having been dethroned or heirs being put out of line of succession by decree of the Sabor.

The Ruler of the United Servian States, Prince, King, or Emperor, was, as head of the State, superior lord or proprietor of all land not private property. And by legal fiction he was superior owner of even the land in private possession. He disposed of the free land of the realm only with the advice and consent of his family, the Council of State, and the Sabor.[1]

The chief of the State Chancellery was called "Logothet" ("Word-bearer"). There was a High Steward of the Realm, "Veliki Chelnik," who presided over the affairs of the Interior and Justice, a Lord of the Treasury called "Riznitchkni Chelnik," having in charge the financial administration of the Realm.

The administration of the State as a whole was strongly centralised, with local autonomy in the Zhupas and the villages.

All State officials, especially under the Empire, were either chosen from the Nobility or, upon their appointment, entered the ranks of the Nobles.

From the beginning of the thirteenth century onward the State was divided into provinces called

[1] No great difference can be established between the State lands and those privately owned by the Sovereign; they are often confounded with each other in dealings, a legal fiction identifying the State with the person of the Ruler.

That same principle, brought about the nominal ownership of the lands occupied by the Rods and Plemes by their chiefs, who became at that time lords in the newly developed nobility classes.

It is evident, however, that the Sovereign could not or did not arbitrarily and illegally seize or dispose of lands in the possession of others.

A document of King Stephan Miloutin, 1317 (*Spomenik*, III, p. 16), says: ". . . And all that I gave whatsoever to the Holy Monasteries . . . I gave it out of my own possession, or I bought, or I asked leave to take [from public lands] or exchanged with the Lord Archbishop or with others. . . . "

"drzhava" ("holding"), and the term "Zhupa" came to be applied to sub-divisions of these provinces, which were also called "Oblasti."

The holders of these territories were in no sense feudal lords, they were royal or imperial administrators under the Crown and the Assembly. Their title was "Knez."[1] They were provincial governors and military commanders of the territory. Their office was limited either to a lifetime or to a set period. They were removable in case of non-fulfilment of duty. In Bosnia the administrator of a province was a "Voyvoda," while in Rashka the title "Voyvod" meant a military commander.

2. STATE AND CROWN REVENUES

The administration of the customs dues and revenues was in charge of a special body under the Royal, later the Imperial, Treasury, and included customs and revenue agents called "Tzareniks," who were appointed over districts. These Tzareniks not only collected the revenues, both customs and inland, but they presided also as judges over commercial courts sitting to arbitrate trade or market matters. The laws visited heavy punishments upon them in case of the abuse of power in their own interests.

[1] At a later time "Knez" came to be the highest nobiliary title next to that of the King's son, and was translated as "Prince." "Zhupan" was "Count." The title "Knez," with some prefix, was used to indicate different official posts. In modern Servia, before it became a kingdom, the Prince Ruler was called "Knez" and the village mayor was called "Seoski-Knez."

The sources of Crown and State revenues were many:

(1) Crown lands or State domains. These lands were not bestowed by the Ruler in fief upon the members of the Nobility, but were kept under direct Crown administration, the holders being called "Tzarske lyudi" (Imperial folk) under the empire and "Kralyevske lyudi" under the kingdom. The revenues from these lands were paid into the State Treasury.

(2) The tax called "Sotje," levied on the land (in recognition of the legal fiction by which the State is the owner of the land), was paid by all classes alike. It was levied on the house or "hearth," and paid either in "kind" or in coin. The amount of the tax, whether in "kind" or coin, was fixed by law.

(3) Customs dues, which were paid in the form of toll on bridges and roads or trade licenses, applied to individuals or market-places near towns or to monasteries or places near the border.

(4) The revenue called "Srbski dohodak" (Servian income), which was a fixed contribution paid by the Republic and merchants of Ragusa, in lieu of all separate trade licenses. It gave them the right to trade freely throughout the Servian Realm, and guaranteed to them security under the protection of the Servian State authorities.

(5) Fines and penalties imposed by the courts of justice, which were called "Globa," were paid in the earlier period in live stock, horses or oxen, and in later times in money.

(6) Mining industries and coinage of money. The income from these sources, especially from the rich gold and silver mines, was very large. The Servian "Despot," Djouradj Voukovich Brankovich, obtained a yearly income from the Kopaonik mines alone of 200,000 ducats (representing about half a million dollars) in the first half of the fifteenth century.

(7) Under the obligation of hospitality, called "priselitza," all communities, monasteries, towns, and nobles gave free hospitality, during one day and one night, to the Ruler or members of his family, or high State officials, to foreign embassies, the army, or to travellers or merchantmen. It was necessary to afford to the imperial convoy or to the embassies, State dignitaries, etc., transport facilities and safe personal conduct through the territory or across the estate, according to the limits and conditions fixed by law.

(8) In case of public necessity, or for the construction of public works or buildings, the Ruler had the right to call upon every or any subject in the Realm, noble or other, only the clergy and their tenants in earlier times being exempt, to contribute time and personal work or to provide substitutes for such services.

(9) In emergency extra taxes were sometimes levied called "podantzi" and "na-metzi"; and during the period of defence against the Turks, a tax called "Ouncha" for armaments and other means of defence, and the "Turk-tax" for the payment of Tribute-money.

3. ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS WITH LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT AND THE FAMILY AS A SOCIAL UNIT

The adminstrative divisions having local self government were the Zhupa or County and its subdivisions, the Village and "Grad," districts.

The Zhupa (*County*).—In the earliest times each Zhupa was a small State, which during the period of unification of Serb lands into a great whole was transformed and by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries came to represent merely an administrative division of the State or Empire.

Zhupa and Pleme were originally interchangeable terms meaning the territory occupied by the Plemes. In the later period these two terms became disassociated, Pleme referring no longer to the inhabitants of a Zhupa, but being restricted to mean merely "family."

All that remained in the fourteenth century of the original organisation of the Zhupa was the "Zhupa Common," grazing and forest lands; duties common to all; and common responsibility for public order.

Articles 74, 75, and 76 of the Code Doushan clearly says that all grazing and forest lands not private property ("Zabel," *i. e.*, with proved title) belong in common to all the inhabitants of the Zhupa.

From the earliest days there was at a central point in the Zhupa a fortified castle called "Grad," about which in certain cases, and always in mining districts, gathered a settlement or town the purlieus of which formed the town district. This organisation of a fortified Zhupa stronghold persisted up

to the fifteenth century. Article 127 of the Code Doushan says that when a Grad or a Tower (fortification) is destroyed the townsmen and the whole Zhupa shall rebuild the Grad or Tower. Sometimes church domains and their tenants were exempt from this duty.

The inhabitants of a Zhupa (called Zhuplanyi) had to furnish transport service to the imperial convoys "from Grad to Zhupa, thence to the border of the Zhupa, and thence across the next Zhupa to its Grad" (Article 60). The church domains and their tenants were (Article 23) not exempt from these transport duties. All personal services and expenses on such occasions were equally distributed among the houses of the Zhupa.

The joint responsibility of the Zhupa in all matters of public order was established by Articles 58, 126, 158, and 191, which decreed that in case of crimes committed by persons unknown, complete reparation shall be made to sufferers by the Zhupa. These articles clearly indicate that the Zhupa was made responsible for its own policing.

This common responsibility, as well as the equal distribution of Zhupa taxes and charges, called Priplata, not coming directly under the State's administration, were dealt with by the Zhupa assembly.

The territory of a Zhupa was either the bashtina[1] of a Prince or great noble, or a pronya,[1] or it might be made up of any of the three kinds of property, imperial or royal, church, or a noble's bashtina. In case the whole Zhupa was the bashtina of one of the

[1] For pronya and bashtina see page 223 under Property.

great lords, or if it was as a whole bestowed in pronya the Bashtiniks or the Pronyars (Articles 108, 134, 149, Code Doushan) were the State's administrators of the Zhupa. Should the Zhupa be mixed or composed of more than one kind of tenure (Article 157), the administrator of the Zhupa was the governor of the Grad, called "Tjephalia" (from the Greek Kephalia—captain).

The "Grad" (Town).—In mediæval Servia there were no towns in the modern sense. The "Grads" or castles were of two kind, the fortified castle at a central point of the Zhupa, and the fortified stronghold built for the protection of the markets at cross-roads or some mining centre. The latter was the only kind which formed a town—the Zhupa castle did not gather about it a town. The castle of the Zhupa, fortified like all others of the period with high walls and a moat, was the place of residence of the Bashtinik or Pronyar of the Zhupa, or of the State's administrator, the Tjephalia (captain) or governor. There was always within its walls a strong military guard used to keep watch over the Zhupa and police it. There also resided the learned judges when they were not on "circuit." When the country was attacked by an enemy the inhabitants were received within the walls of the fortifications, and the Zhupan defended the place. It was rare that market-places or any commercial life grouped itself about the castle, unless the castle chanced to be situated near mines or great commercial roads. The other kind of Grad, gathering about it a "town," was usually built on some high or dominant point for the protection of the

mines, or as natural trading-places. These towns were inhabited chiefly by Saxons, who were the miners, and Ragusans or other merchants of the littoral. The home Servians were slow to come to live in these agglomerations. Outside of the Grad walls, generally on the hill-slopes, were the small houses, usually of wood, ranged around an open space, upon which fronted the church in stone or brick. To-day the ruins of fortresses and of the churches outside the walls indicate the situation of these towns. This town "at the foot" of the Grad was called "po-gradje." There lived the miners, or commercial people, merchants, and handicraftsmen. All of these men could at choice live in the village or rural communities instead of in the town, except the goldsmiths, who were obliged to live in the "Grad" (po-gradje) or Trgovishtiye (Trg is market). "If a goldsmith is found in a selo [village] the selo shall be punished by being dispersed" (Articles 168, 169, Code Doushan). This drastic regulation is supposed to have been aimed at the prevention of the illegal coinage of money.

The townsmen were mostly of foreign origin, and were generally either those who had settled in the country and had acquired property (bashtina), or those who were still what were called "Guests." The whole population of a po-gradje or trgovishtiye was under the direct administration of the Tjephalia of the Grad. "The Tjephalia shall levy as income a tax [on the townsmen] fixed by the law. He shall also have the right to buy [what he needs] for one dinar what others pay two dinars for, . . . but he can only buy from the townsmen" (Article 63). Accord-

ing to Article 127, the townsmen had to keep the Grad in repair, help guard it and defend it in danger. A document of Knez (Tsar) Lazar Hrebelianovich to the Ragusans in 1387 says: "The Ragusans, merchants, or handicraftsmen who have bashtina [free inheritable property] in the Grad of Novo Brdo, shall be under obligation to rebuild or repair the Grad and guard it; only those who still are 'guests' and have not bought any bashtina shall perform these duties or not as they choose." [1]

Towns, in a modern sense, as a place of residence, came into Servia only with the Turks, and under the Turkish régime the inhabitants of the towns were all Moslems.

Selo (*Village or Rural Community*).—The Zhupa was composed of rural communities or settlements called "selos" (villages). Each selo occupying its own territory was a distinct corporate unit. In earliest times each selo was identified with a family group or Rod. Such selos of Rod origin are referred to in the "Monumenta Serbica," pp. 144, 191, 196, 197, and 198, naming "Stoyanovci," "Smilyovci," "Radanovci," "Deyovci" (*i. e.*, descendants of Stoyan, Smilyan, etc.), but in general the rural communities were not any longer representative of a single family. At a later period, under the Turkish rule, family village groupings again occurred.

The boundaries on selo lands were clearly defined, as is seen in documents of the time; they were streams,

[1] "Monumenta Serbica," p. 206; *ibid.*, p. 208; recapitulation by Despot George Voukovich-Brankovich, *ibid.*, p. 52. Similar document by King Stephan Urosh, 1240–1272.

valleys, roads, ditches, trees, houses, and even certain "acres" of well-known persons. Where no natural border-line existed, such bournes were set up in hewn stone. A judgment concerning a boundary dispute given by Prince George Tsrnoyevitch of Zeta, 1494, deals with the boundary limits of the village lands of a nobleman, Ilyia Lyeshovitch. The jury was composed of twenty-four noblemen; upon the fixing of the limits under the supervision of the Pristav (sheriff) Kosyier, "the bourne stones were fixed by master stone-mason Ostoyia."

The houses in a Servian village of that period were rarely closely set together, but more often the selo community was made up of many loose and straggling groups, or of clusters of two or three houses scattered widely over the lands of the community.

The delimitation of the land occupied by the selo was intimately connected with the duties and responsibilities of that community. The village was put under obligation to maintain public order, and was liable to be punished and subject to fine and payment of damages in case of incendiarism (Article 100). In the event of "Vrazhda" (murder), "if the assassin is unknown or cannot be discovered, the community is fined five hundred perpers." Sometimes "Vrazhda" was the act of disinterring a body of the dead and burning it, which was done as the result of a superstitious belief found in Balkan lands among the more ignorant people, according to which some unseen physical emanation or body comes from the grave to fasten on the living and suck away their blood or life forces. That kind of "Vrazhda," due to belief in

vampires, was punishable by a fine of five hundred perpers levied on the community. If any priest was found taking part in such proceedings he was dismissed from the priesthood (Article 20). The measure was intended to destroy the superstition.

In case any animals, horses, or cattle should be killed or maliciously injured in passing through the village domains, the selo community was held to make entire compensation to the owners (Article 199).

Article 92 says that if a horse has been stolen and its owner discovers it with a rider on its back, both the horse and man shall be taken to the nearest village, which shall deliver them, horse and rider, to the judge for trial. A penalty of fifty perpers, called "potka" (Article 77), was imposed on any village failing to perform that duty. Articles 58, 144, and 191 deal similarly with cases of punishments and fines imposed on villages for failure to protect public order and secure punishment of the criminal.

The nearest surrounding villages to unoccupied land outside of any village domains are held responsible for the maintaining of order and the policing of those regions; and the communities are all jointly punished by fines or otherwise should crimes be committed in those unowned lands (Article 58).

Article 145 says: "In all Zhupas, Grads, and Krayinas there shall not be any robber or thief. Any village which fails to deliver up, or protects, a robber or thief shall be dispersed." The same punishment of dispersal and confiscation by the State of all property (Article 111) was meted out to any village that refused to execute the orders of a judge or pre-

vented such execution. The same punishment was inflicted on any selo permitting a goldsmith to settle within its boundaries (Article 168).

It is probable that the "selishtye," places where villages once stood, not only mark sites razed by war, but are sometimes due to the punishment of dispersal visited by the law on an erring village.

Concerning the common corporate rights of the village, research has not been able to establish any facts clearly; but the surmise is that such rights existed. In the Archangel deeds of grant, Emperor Doushan uses the expression: "The selo Yelkovatz within its limits *and all its rights.*"

The rights may have referred to forest and grazing-land privileges in the Zhupa outside of the village domains. Among the general duties of a rural community as a corporate unit was the "priselitza" (hospitality), the duty incumbent on a village (in addition to the Zhupa "priselitza") to lodge and feed members of the reigning family, high state officials, foreign ambassadors, and the part provisioning of the army, men and horses, etc. All the articles of the Code Doushan regulating this matter show plainly that the law was mindful to prevent the abuse of that "hospitality" in order that it should not become burdensome to the selos. Article 133 says: "If an ambassador passes a village on his way to and fro to see the Sovereign, he may stop in the village one night and have a morning and evening meal [for himself and train], but he can ask for no more, and must pass on to the next village." Article 187 says that if the Emperor, the Empress, or any member of

the Sovereign family stops at a village overnight, no other person following them shall ask hospitality; such a traveller must pay the price sevenfold of what he takes. The abuse of "Priselitza" (hospitality) by officials or others having such right was liable (Article 57) to be punished by dismissal from their posts and loss of their property holdings.

In the study of rural communities an important difference is seen between selo and katoun. The difference was sharply accentuated in the earlier period, but in the fifteenth century the difference has disappeared and the terms are interchangeable.

The selo[1] was the rural community of agriculturalists. The katoun was the settlement of the stock-raisers, who ranged their herds far over the country, returning sometimes after months to their homes in the katouns.

All documentary evidence indicates that both selo and katoun were, in their inner organisation and administration, self-governing. They possessed a village assembly called "Zbor." A document of King Stephan Detchanski ("Monumenta Serbica") says, in relation to a litigation in a border dispute, that "there were present at the trial the Judge Bogdan, the jury, the witnesses, and the 'Zbors' of the [contending] villages. . . ."

[1] Documentary evidence shows that in the rural communities called selo there were often from one hundred to two hundred koutchas (houses or households), but generally they numbered from fifty to seventy. There were never fewer than twenty, each household averaging from ten to forty members. The katouns, rural communities of the stock-breeders, numbered from twenty to fifty households, which were often single families, numbering less therefore by household than in the selos composed of agriculturalists.

All documents appear to indicate that in all cases of local petty disputes among themselves the inhabitants of the selos or katouns went before a small jury or committee of arbitration called "conscientious" or "good men" (dobri lyudi), nominated by themselves, and presided over by the village elder. This institution of self-administrated justice has survived in the rural communities of Serb lands through the centuries and is found among them even to-day. There are still to-day in Montenegro and other Serb regions the "dobri lyudi."

There is no evidence to show that the administration of the Servian State, or even that of the Zhupa, ever interfered in the local self-government of the rural communities. Article 146 of the Code Doushan gives only the titles of the village elders in the different districts as representing the rural communities. There are mentioned "Seoski knez" (village chief), a title which existed up to the nineteenth century; "permitchur" (premier-man), from the Greek πριμικήριος; "predstoynik" (standing first); "Seoski vladalatz" (village ruler); and "Seoski Chelnik" (village headman).

House (*Koutcha*).—The units composing the Grad, Selo, or Katoun were the "Koutcha" (house). That term applied legally, not to the building especially, but to the family. In all matters of economic ordinance, taxes and duties and privileges, obligations toward public order, crime and punishment, etc., the law and the State held the Koutcha, or family, primarily responsible; the individual was a secondary consideration. The Archangel document

says: ". . . They [villagers] shall 'robot' [for the monastery] two days in the week," and "dimitzom" *pro fumo—i. e.*, to furnish one worker by "smoke-stack." Another document says: "They shall work for the holy church two days weekly, each Koutcha. . ."—*i. e.*, each family or household to furnish one worker for two days each week.

Article 66 says: "If a koutcha is cited to appear before a court of justice by a sheriff or other 'Judge's man,' the koutcha shall have the right to send any one of the 'bratenci' [brothers or cousins living in that koutcha in Zadruga] to answer for the whole koutcha. If a member of the koutcha is found near the precincts of the court, and receives the citation, he cannot be forced to appear for his house, but has the right to send 'his elder brother' [the head of the Zadruga] to answer the charge."

Article 71 reads: "If a crime is committed by one of those living in one house, be he brother, son, or relative, the head of the house shall answer for it, pay the fine, or deliver the guilty one to the court."

It is evident, however, that the Zadruga of Koutchas, or family with its descendants and collateral relatives in joint property, was not the only family formation. There was the "inocosna," or single family with joint property. There was also the family group joined by blood ties living around the same central hearth, but with separate individual property, "separate in bread and goods," as it was called, or the single family with separate property rights as is common to-day elsewhere.

Article 70 says: "In cases where those living about a central hearth, sons of one father, sons of brothers, or other relatives, hold their property 'separate in bread and goods,' each separate portion of the property shall furnish one man's 'robot' [work]."

Article 52 provides that in case of "disloyalty" or "crime," no brother for brother, nor father for son, nor relative for relative, shall be responsible, if they live in separate houses and are innocent; . . . only the house of the guilty person shall pay the fine etc.

Stoyan Novakovitch calculates that the households or koutchas, inmates of the central house and its surrounding vayats, counted as many as from thirteen to twenty male members alone.

4. THE SOVEREIGN AND THE COURT

The rights of succession to the throne in the Servian ruling family according to the old Servian custom belonged to the eldest member of the family. Many Servian rulers tried to break that law and leave their thrones to their sons, which was the occasion of many civil wars, and sometimes the seizure of the throne took place by usurpation and not in legal line of succession. The Nemanyas, in order to preserve the throne to their sons, adopted the method of causing them to be publicly consecrated and acclaimed as their successors.

To the Ruler's son, so consecrated, was given at time of consecration a province to rule. It was generally Zeta (modern Tzernagora, *i. e.*, Montenegro) or Rashka. The consecrated heir to the

throne, besides his baptised Christian name, assumed the name of "Stephan," the Greek equivalent for the Latin "Augustus," which remained joined to his other name when he came to the throne.

The Servian Rulers in early times had no fixed capital. With the extension of Servian territories southward the capital moved southward from Rashka to Prishtina and Prisren, then to Skoplyia (Uskub). With the loss of those southern lands the capital was removed first to Krushevatz; then to the Castle of Boratch (now in ruins) and Belgrade; then to Semendria (Smederevo).

The Emperor Doushan lived at the castles of Rashka, Prishtina, the Grad of Prisren, at Skoplyia (to-day, Uskub), and at Seres in Macedonia. The old Uskub was wilfully destroyed and burned in 1689 by Austrian troops. General Piccolomini in command of them, declared the city to have been one of the most marvellous sights for beauty which he had ever beheld. It was then what the Servians had made it, a place of marble splendour,[1] where was convoked the National Assembly which in 1346 proclaimed the Empire, and where the same Assembly, under the presidency of the Servian Emperor, elaborated and promulgated the Code Doushan.

The famous painting[2] "The Crowning of the Emperor Doushan"—an enormous canvas now the property of the State, in which the Servian artist Paya Iovanovich, with exact historical detail, repre-

[1] As it stands rebuilt at the present time, it is only an ordinary Turkish town on the railway line from Belgrade to Salonika.

[2] Exhibited at the Paris Exhibition in 1900, and afterward in 1907 in London. *See frontispiece.*

sents the event, is an impressive and splendid picture of royal magnificence. The gorgeous and beautiful costumes of the Emperor, the Empress, and their little son the young King; the robes of the Patriarch and the Archbishops and Bishops, of the high officers of State, the military leaders and other soldiers; the harness of the horses; the graceful *écuyers*, and all the acessories, show forth an Imperial Court second to none in stately grandeur.

Such was the Court of the old Servian Empire under Doushan.

Tsar Lazar Hrebelianovich lived at Krushevatz, to-day in central Servia on the western Morava River near the railway line not far to the north-west of Nish. There to-day are the ruins of the "White Tower" of the ballads, from which the Tsarina Militza leaned to strain her eyes toward the battlefield of Kossovo. Near that place is the monastery built by this storied daughter of the Nemaniads, and where her ashes now repose. At Krushevatz, too, stands in good repair the church built by Tsar Lazar called the "Lazaritza." Within its walls still gather the faithful, and before its holy altars rise incense and worship from true Servian hearts to-day as of old.

The symbols of the Sovereign's supreme authority were the sceptre, the purple mantle which was worn over a "Dalmatica," [1] the throne chair, the diadem

[1] Hamilton Jackson gives an interesting account of the origin and use of the "Dalmatica" robe in his book on the eastern shores of the Adriatic. He says that this garment, which was the ordinary costume of the Dalmatian dignitaries and headmen, was introduced in Rome by the Roman Emperor Decius "the Illyrian" (a Dalmatian), and was worn by the nobles of the Court of Valerian. The Emperor Commodus sometimes wore it on occasions of solemnity. S. Cyprian, who succeeded Donatus

of State or Crown, the Sword of State, and the national flag called "Steg."

The Court of the Servian rulers in the main outline of formula and order of ceremonial was modelled after that of the Byzantine emperors. However, in certain regards exemplifying the old Servian ideas recognising the right of the individual to self-respect, the ceremonial at the Servian royal or imperial Court differed essentially from that of the Byzantine.

For instance, at Constantinople the rule was that when a great noble or prince came into the presence of the Emperor he advanced, bowed, knelt, and kissed the Emperor's thigh and then his knee. When a commoner came into the Byzantine ruler's presence he prostrated himself to the earth.

At the Servian Court, when a prince or great noble entered the Imperial Presence, he stood erect, the Servian Emperor advanced to him, and placing his hand on the noble's shoulder, the noble doing the same to him, the ruler kissed him on the temple, while he did the same to the Sovereign. When a commoner came before the Servian Emperor he simply stood erect after kissing the hand of the Sovereign. There was no servility either in form or in idea.

as Bishop of Carthage, speaks of its use as an ancient thing. It was accepted as the Eucharistic vestment in North Africa and worn by Bishops. S. Eutychian, Pope in 275, ordered the alternative use of the dalmatica for clothing the bodies of martyrs with the "colobium" (a long tunic of crimson silk), which had been in use. The dalmatica was first worn by the celebrant, but when the chasuble came into use in the Roman Catholic Church it became the vestment of the deacons. S. Symmachus conceded to S. Cæsarius Bishop of Orleans in 508, as a favour, that his deacons might wear the dalmatica, and S. Gregory granted the same privilege to the archdeacons of the Franks. At a later period the use of the dalmatica was granted to Kings for their coronation.

5. SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN GENERAL

Every Serb or subject of the Servian State was recognised by the law in both his personal and real status—that is, in his individual and property rights involving privileges and duties.

The status of "*slave*" or "*right-less*" person, as being the property of another individual, was absolutly unknown in all epochs to the Servian State and social organisation.[1]

During those early centuries called the Dark Ages in Europe, when throughout Western countries all privileges and enjoyment were held by the possessing classes and all duties and pains were borne by the enslaved masses, the Servian State was not able to maintain in their integrity the ancient Servian race ideals of equality

The Servian people came to be separated into three main divisions:

(1) The Nobility, great or territorial, called "Veliка Vlastela," and the lesser nobility, "Mala Vlastela," including State and military officials.

(2) The higher and lower Monastic Clergy.

(3) Commoners or non-nobles, called "Sebar" or "Sebri," townsmen, and villagers (who were agriculturalists or cattle-breeders).

The entire population, whether nobility or commoners, possessed hereditary property rights and

[1] See page 267 for international communications and remonstrances of the Servian princes, kings, and emperors in protection of individual liberty and condemning slavery and slave-trade, which in those times was common in other lands of Europe.

freehold property called "bashtina." All were alike direct subjects of the Crown and all alike possessed the right before justice to be adjudged by their peers. Justice was dispensed by the Crown through imperial or royal judges—*aided by a jury.* All adjustments of privileges and duties as between landlord and tenant, servitudes incumbent on the land, etc., were strictly fixed by law.

In the earlier period the "Sebri" (through their house representatives), as well as the nobility and higher clergy, formed part of the National Assembly. During the later period the nobility and clergy had alone the right to sit in the National Assembly or "Sabor." The Sebri had no direct national representation, their political rights being restricted to the local Zhupa and town or village assemblies, deliberating solely upon local interests.

There are no documents to show that the State ever interfered in the local administration of the Zhupa and the town or village affairs.

In addition to the three great classes forming the bulk of the population was a fourth social division, small in numbers, called "Otrok," whose position—the lowest in the Servian social hierarchy —approximated that of a serf. But the Otrok was recognised by the law in his personal status and individual rights of family, etc., and rights to possess property. He was bound to the soil; the owner of that soil had the right of pronouncing justice in all disputes and litigation between the Otroks themselves, but in regard to all other

offences against the public order, such as fraud, theft, robbery, assault, murder, incendiarism, abduction, kidnapping, etc., the Otroks were judged by the imperial or royal courts of justice.

6. THE NOBILITY

A Servian nobleman was called Vlastelin (Holder of Power). In a certain document of the thirteenth century the word "Boyarin" or "Boyar" (Warrior) is used. There were two orders of nobility: The Velika Vlastela, or Great Nobles of the Realm, and the Mala Vlastela, Lesser Nobles or Provincial Nobility, called also Vlastelitchitzi. The great nobility of the Realm, which was formed of the families of the former independent Knezes and Zhupans, among whom were counted the Patriarch, Archbishops and Bishops, and the higher administrative officials, sat in the National Legislative Assembly. The Lesser Nobles or Provincial Nobility, were the descendants of the nobility of the former independent Zhupas—that is, heads of the ancient subdivisions of the Zhupas, as chiefs of the Rods and other Stareshinas. All of the lesser State officials belonged to this class of nobility. The lesser nobility had representation in the National Assembly. A difference of degree in privileges existed between the two orders in regard to punishments in the law courts.

The crime or delict was, in the eyes of the law, always the same, whether committed by Great Noble, Lesser Noble, or Commoner; the only discrimination

was in regard to the nature and extent of the penalty and punishments inflicted.

According to Article 50 of Code Doushan: "If a Vlastelin insults, injures, or works dishonour to a Vlastelitchitz he shall pay a fine of a hundred perpers.[1] If a member of the lesser order is the offender against one of the great nobles, he not only pays as a penalty the one hundred perpers, but he receives corporal punishment of several strokes."

The Vlastelin or Great Noble enjoyed certain privileges of special deference to his order. Article 62 of the Code Doushan provides that if a Vlastelin is to be cited before a court of justice, the judge must call him by special mandate, all other men being cited to appear by simple writ. A further privilege of the Great Vlastela was that they could be called upon to appear before a court of justice only in the forenoon, never in the afternoon. The reasons in full for the citation must be set forth in detail in the special mandate. If a Vlastelin who has been cited with all form due him and by the "Pristav" (Sheriff) "does not appear before mid-day, he shall pay a fine of six oxen (Article 56)."

All offices of State, both great and small, at the Royal or Imperial Court, military, administrative, and judicial, were occupied by both orders of the nobility. The high dignitaries of the Church were considered to belong to the Vlastela. A document of King

[1] According to Cibario a "perper" is equal to six francs in metal or ten francs in "kind." In the Hilendar documents of King Miloutin, 1293 or 1303, the value of a horse is set down as thirty perpers, the price of a mare as twenty perpers. See also evaluation in the "Archangel" document of the Emperor Doushan.

Miloutin, 1305, says: ". . . There were present the Vlastela, the Archbishop of Bar Lord Marin, the Bishop of Hulm Lord John, the Bishop of the Zeta Lord Michael. . . ."

In addition to those belonging by right of inheritance to the ancient nobility both higher and lesser, the Emperor Doushan conferred the privileges of nobility upon Commoners (Sebars) in recompense for and in recognition of merit or eminent services, together with life interest in land. The lesser nobility were also recruited from the bravest among the warriors. They were invested with a degree of chivalry. As military service was obligatory and universal to all Serbs alike of whatever class, it followed that bravery and merit opened the door to all distinctions and to noble rank, even the highest.

Property

The landed property of the nobles, greater and lesser, was of two sorts of holdings: Bashtina and Pronyas.

The hereditary property was called the "nobles' Bashtina." In many documents of Bosnian rulers and of provincial governors and in documents of the Republic of Ragusa the correct and purely Servian expression "Plemenito," or "Plemenshtina" (from Pleme), is used instead of "Bashtina." [1]

These bashtinas or plemenitos had for the greater part belonged to the more ancient nobility from the

[1] See document of King Stephan Ostoya of Bosnia, 1399; document of Veliko Voyvod (Duke) Sandal Hranich, 1490; document of Voyvod Djouradj, 1434, etc.

period of the appearance of individual possessory rights among Serbs; certain other bashtinas were the gifts of kings or emperors to nobles.

But most of the royal and imperial land grants were not "bashtina," but "pronya," or life-tenure—the second kind of noble holding. Pronyas were bestowed by the Ruler in return for public services, past, present, or to be rendered to the State.

Bashtina.—The characteristics of the nobles' bashtina were:

First.—Full rights of proprietorship in regard to the land, and mastership of the "Otrok" [1] on the soil.

The full extent of the protection afforded to property rights is seen clearly in Articles 39 and 40 of the Code Doushan, which say: "Neither the Emperor nor the King, his heir nor the Empress, shall have the right to take away by force the bashtina from a Bashtinik. They can only take it with the free consent of its owner." The same is true of a Church or Church property held as bashtina: "Neither the Emperor nor the Patriarch shall have the right to dispossess the Bashtinik and add that Church estate to the Patriarchal estate."

King Stephan Miloutin states with pride in the Saint Stephan document, 1317, that he has not once annulled unlawfully or by force any grant or deed of

[1] Articles 44 to 46 of the Code Doushan deal with the relations between the Bashtinik (owner of bashtina) and Otroks. See also further definitions in the document of the grant of the King of Bosnia, Thomas Ostojich, 1458, to Logothet Stepan (Mon. Serb., p. 481), showing that the Otrok cannot be sold, given away, or disposed of at the master's will. In case the property changes hands, the Otrok has the option of remaining on the land or of following the previous owner of the land. See p. 264, "Otrok."

bashtina given by his forefathers, and that he has only confirmed acts of voluntary sales, gifts, or exchanges made by the owners themselves. In similar language speak the Emperor Stephan Doushan in the "Archangel" document, and Prince Ivan Cernoyevch of Zeta, in a document of 1458.

The bashtina became forfeit to the State in case of disloyalty to the State or Ruler on the part of its owner, also for disobedience to the laws, refusal to recognise judicial authority. Article 107 says that the property of whosoever shall send away and refuse to obey a "Pristav" (Sheriff), or any other official delegated by the judge, shall be forfeit to the State. Article 111 also deals with the same matter of the confiscation of property as punishment for contempt of judicial authority or decisions and orders, violence to the judge's dignity or person—"doing shame to a judge." Article 138 says: "Whoever falsifies by adding to or changing the text of any public or official document, his property shall be confiscated." Article 140 deals with cases of disloyalty or high treason. Among other published documents of the period is that of "Despot"[1] Stephan Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich, 1403, confiscating a bashtina. (Belgrade Archives).

The holder of a bashtina was held responsible for public order within his domain. Article 145 decrees: "There shall be no robber or thief. The village where a robber or thief is found shall be dispersed,

[1] The Servian title "Despot," a word borrowed from the Greek, was the royal title worn by the Servian rulers after the fall of the Empire, instead of Kral or King, which meant complete sovereignty, while "Despot" inferred the paying of a tribute to a Suzerain.

etc. . . . The lord of the village (Bashtinik or Pronyar) shall be brought bound before the court and shall pay back all that was robbed or stolen, or he shall receive the same punishment as that meted to the robber or thief."

Article 173 says: "If a noble brings a robber or thief in his train to the royal or imperial Court, be he Greek, German, or Serb, he shall receive the same punishment as that meted to the robber or thief."

Second.—The holder of a noble bashtina enjoyed the right to dispose of it provided that he could secure the consent of his family or Zadruga.

In the deed of sale of a bashtina by the Zhupan Belyak and the Voyvoda Radich Sankovich to Ragusa, in 1391, they say: ". . . And all this is consented to and confirmed by all the undersigned, . . . our wives, our dear sisters, our uncles, . . . our brothers, . . . for them and for their children, and all the descendants of us all . . . all our Vlastela [noble vassals] . . ." etc.

Similar in form is a deed of gift, by the brothers Roman, Grgour, and Vouk Brankovich, 1365, to the monastery of Hilendar.

The transfers of bashtina property were not legal without the consent and confirmation of the ruler, who embodied the affirmation of the State as superior proprietor of the whole territory of the realm. A document of 1349, of Emperor Stephan Doushan, reads: ". . . Sevastocrator Deyan prayed my Majesty to consent and to confirm his gift of . . . to the Monastery . . . after the Emperor had taken counsel with the Empress, his son the King Urosh, with

the Patriarch, all the Archbishops, Bishops, Hegoumen, and all the Great and Lesser Vlastela, My Imperial Majesty gave and wrote this document consenting and confirming . . ." etc. Another document of Knez (and Tsar) Lazar Hrebelianovich, 1381, in response to a petition of the Chelnik (Minister of State), Musa and son, confirms a deed of gift of land to the Russian Monastery of Saint Panteleimon.

Third.—Full rights of inheritance restricted to a certain line of succession. The restricting clauses of the Code Doushan say that in default of direct heirs —children and grandchildren, etc.—a bashtina could go collaterally only to cousins in the male line up to the third degree. Other written documents show that if the deceased had sons, daughters were excluded, but in default of sons, daughters inherited. These rules applied to single families. In regard to the Zadruga joint property, daughters were excluded from inheritance, in view of the fact that they left the paternal Zadruga upon marriage to enter as full members those of their husbands. Had they possessed property rights in the joint estate, the division of property with each daughter's marriage would have continually sapped the strength of the paternal Zadruga. However, the law determined that each member of a Zadruga, male or female, could possess and inherit individual bashtina which was not a part of the Zadruga joint property.

Article 48 says that "if a Vlastelin dies, his battle-horse and his armour go to the Emperor." (This was in affirmation of the principle whereby the Vlastelin, like every other Serb, was the State's warrior and not

an independent soldier "warring" on his own account, as was the case elsewhere in western mediæval Europe.) Further, the dead Vlastelin's "Svita" (gold and pearl embroidered robe), and his golden girdle went to his son, and in default of a son, to his daughter, who was free to sell or give them away.

The old Slavonic right of inheritance gave an equal share to each child, primogeniture not being known, and even in regard to the throne it was long before that principle became established.

Bashtina rights exacted corresponding duties and obligations toward the State and the ruler. These duties were—*First*—Obligatory military service, from which exemption could be allowed by the ruler under conditions fixed by law and custom. *Second.*—Payment of the royal or imperial tax called "Sotje." Article 42 says: "The bashtina is free of all robot[1] and other dues except the sotje tax and military service." Articles 42 and 198 fixed the "sotje" at one "kabal"[2] of grain or one perper (Article 68) in money, levied on the household or "hearth," and payable partly on October 26, St. Demetrius' Day, and the rest at Christmas. *Third.*—Special taxes in the form of gifts and contributions for building and

[1] "Robot" was a contribution of manual labor on public works, etc. A similar exaction exists to-day in nearly all countries of Europe for the up-keep of public highways or dikes, etc. In France every landowner has to furnish either manual labor or "carting" toward the maintenance of the roads, to be furnished in labor or money.

[2] The "kabal" was more or less the Roman or Byzantine weight-and-surface-measure unit called the "modius." As surface measure it was in Servian, the "mat." As weight, the "kabal" (about two-thirds of a modern bushel) was the amount of grain required to sow a surface of two hundred square "orgya," one "orgya" being nine and a half spans of the hand.

other royal or imperial purposes—building of monasteries, palaces, etc.—also registration fees. Article 128 refers to these contributions and fixes the duties and registration fees payable to the State on all bashtina transactions. The fee per village was thirty perpers (about sixty dollars)—for one horse, one perper; for a mare, one-half perper. Article 134 permits the "Djak" or Registration clerk to levy a fee —for his clerical services—of six perpers per village.

Pronya.—(Second form of the nobleman's landed-estate.) The expression "Pronya" (*πρόνοια*) is said to have applied in Byzance to the charge and administration of a district, and came in time to designate a special form of landed estate, in which meaning in the thirteenth century it was adopted by the Serbs. The Servian pronya [1] was a landed estate or certain revenues of a district bestowed during life upon military or administrative dignitaries of the State in payment for services past or present, military or civil.

The pronya right was only the usufructus. It excluded the rights of free disposal by sale or gift. Article 59 says in substance that a pronyar can only sell or buy a bashtina. To sell or buy a pronya or dispose of it in any way was forbidden. Any such dealings were declared null and void.

[1] Analogous with the Servian pronya was the Russian "Pomiestnishtvo," introduced into Russia in the early sixteenth century, and out of which the Empress Catherine in the eighteenth century created a free landed nobility by abolishing the "personal State servitude" of the "Pomiestnik," and thereby inadvertently created also legal serfdom in Russia, as she neglected to free at the same time the tenants ("Mushiks") from their obligatory servitudes toward the "Pomiestnik." Alexander II's liberation of the serfs was the tardy and incomplete reparation for that act.

Only by special imperial or royal deed of gift could the pronya be transformed into a bashtina.

On the death of the pronyar the estate returned to the Crown, which could re-bestow it upon the pronyar's son only where that son was able to assume the duties and obligations forming the basis of his father's tenure. Or the Crown could bestow the pronya upon some other candidate.

The pronya was always the benefice of an office. The ruler could dispossess the pronyar for default in duty or non-fulfilment of obligations or abuse of authority. Article 142 declares forfeit of pronya and office for treason, abuse of authority, etc.

Article 57 declares the pronya forfeit for the abuse of the law of hospitality (Priselitza) or for oppressing the people on the lands of the pronya.

If the bashtina or pronya were a border district it was called "Krayina," [1] and the holder of it "Krayishnik" or "Border-lord." His duty was to watch over the security of the borders and keep the garrisons of defence in good condition.

[1] Gregoras, the Byzantine chronicler, who went to Skoplyia (Uskub) with an embassy to ask the Servian King Stephan Detchanski's aid for the Emperor Andronikos the Elder, writes: "When we passed the Struma River . . . and came into thick woods, we were suddenly surrounded by men clad in black woollen garments, who darted forth from behind trees and rocks like devils out of the earth. They wore no heavy armour, being armed only with lances, battle-axes, and bows and arrows. They could not understand our (Greek) tongue. They barred the way of our embassy, but accosted us good-naturedly. There was nothing of the bandit in their looks. When we answered their greeting—as some of us knew their language—they told us what they were doing in such an abandoned spot: that they were guarding the border from any persons who might enter to attack and plunder the villages of the interior." These men were the "Krayishnitzi," armed men of the Border-lord, on duty.

Article 49 says that "should a foreign army or troops enter the State and plunder and retire again unmolested, the Vlastelin or pronyar who is the Border-lord and through whose territory the plundering forces passed, shall make good all the damage done by the plunderers.

Article 143 says that "should robbers [small private bands or individuals] cross the borders into the administrative territory of a Border-lord, he shall repay the depredations sevenfold."

7. THE CLERGY AND THE CHURCH

The organisation of the clergy in its civil and social aspect comprised two orders: first, the Monastic, including the Patriarch, Archbishops, Bishops, Archimandrites (Higher Abbot) Hegoumen (Abbots), Monks, and Djakons (postulants), who had no property rights and no family rights (could not be married). They could live only in monasteries.

The second order of clergy—the main body in numbers—was formed of the parish incumbents. They were the Proto-Popa (or Archpriest, the priest-intendant of a number of parishes); the Popa or parish priest, and the Beadle (layman in Church service). To this order marriage was obligatory, and its members enjoyed full property rights, and in their social status, whether Vlastelin or Commoner—they were under the ordinary law, and retained the social status and political rights to which they were born as Servian subjects.

This order is therefore to be considered in relation to the common laws of the realm.

But the monastic order was subject to special laws fixing its special privileges and duties in regard both to the State and the people. This order headed by the higher clergy, Patriarch, Archbishops, Archimandrite, Hegouman (Abbot), who were socially part of the nobility as lords spiritual, and the lesser monastic Clergy (commoners)—*i. e.*, the Monks (Kaludjers) and the Djakons (postulant priests, who were the aids to higher clergy in sacerdotal functions)—was, as regards administration, autonomous within the monastic domain. These domains were called "Metokhia," and belonged to the monastery and not to the individuals of the monastic order. The monastic community possessed only the usus and fructus of these church domains, subject to the fulfilment of the duties and obligations (servitudes) due to the State and public from monasteries.[1]

Article 25 (Code Doushan) says: "The Emperor, the Patriarch and the Logothet (chancellor of the realm) shall alone have supreme supervision over the monasteries . . ." etc.

The members of the monastic order were obliged to live in the monastery on the monastic domain, and in absolute equality and poverty.

"No monk or nun shall live outside of a monastery or convent . . ." etc. (Article 17, Code Doushan.)

A document of King Miloutin says: "The monk shall possess nothing and shall not have in his cell

[1] There were exceedingly few convents for women in the Serb-Orthodox Church at any time, and in modern times none whatever.

even a needle and thread without having received it 'in benediction' from the 'Old one'"—*i. e.*, the abbot in charge gives it to him according to his need from the community stores.

There are evidences, however, that higher monastic dignitaries, such as Archbishops and Bishops, sometimes received estates. There are no evidences to show that estates so received conveyed anything more than the usufructus during a lifetime. In some cases these gift estates, stipulating generally the application of revenues to certain purposes, remained, after the death of the beneficiary, as endowment upon the ecclesiastical office.

The duration of the possession of domain by the church was unlimited and absolute. The right to sell or dispose in any way of church property, especially real estate, was narrowly restricted, and the tendency was to prevent entirely such transactions, affecting even the right to let land or to rent other land.

The administrative head of the monastery was the Hegouman (Abbot), elected by all the monks of the monastery in assembly as sole nominators.

On the community principle, the right to deal with the monastic property—having regard especially to "mobilier," fruit of harvest, live stock, etc., resided in the community alone, the Hegouman in all these transactions being obliged to get the direct or indirect advice or authority of the others.

Obligations and Duties.—The monastic incomes had to be devoted to the nourishment and clothing of the monks, the feeding and clothing of poor and dis-

abled persons—hospital work and poor relief being the chief duties of the monasteries—and the giving of food and lodging to travellers and wayfarers during a period fixed by law (generally some three days). There were also educational duties.

Article 28 (Code Doushan) says: "In all church monasteries the poor and disabled shall be fed as prescribed by the law. Should any one fail in this duty, be he Archbishop, Bishop, or Hegouman, he shall be dismissed from his (ecclesiastical) office."

A document of Chelnik Radich specifies that the monastery shall distribute at least twelve portions of food at the church doors every day.

The Archangel document of Emperor Stephan Doushan specifies the hospital duties, decreeing: "Each monastery shall have a hospital with at least twelve beds, and whoever is ill shall be taken into the hospital, except the blind and the lame"—for whom provision was made elsewhere as to food and clothing—Article 28.

Chelnik Radich's document says: "The food for the ill in the hospital shall be furnished by the kitchens of the monastery."

Article 175 (Code Doushan) fixing conditions of hospitality to travellers, says: "No woman can be received at a monastery except the Queen or the Empress."

The document of Chelnik Radich, specifies the duties of monasteries in regard to hospitality to travellers.

The privileges which the monastic order enjoyed in view of all these duties and obligations were also

fixed by public law. The monastic domains were exempt from all "small or great" "robot" (corvee or personal labour) toward the State or the protector of the church (domain). The tenants on the church lands were free from military duties and many of the "Metokhias" (church domains) were by special royal or imperial grant freed from the "sotje" tax.

In later years in the fifteenth century, under pressure of the Turkish invasion, many of the exemptions referring to military service, payment of taxes, and certain "robots" were revoked as the nation then called on every resource of defence.

The general conditions attending the church holding varied somewhat according to the origin of the domainal foundations, and were influenced by the nature of the property before it became church land, causing three classifications.

There was, first, the great or State or Patriarchal "Church" (estates), comprising all monastic and church lands attached to the Sees of the Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops. The second class was the Royal or Imperial "Church," including monasteries and churches founded by the Rulers and forming the greatest number. This class came entirely under the ordinance of public law for monastic and church property. The third kind was the "Bashtina Church," depending on the special charter given to the church by the Lord of the bashtina who founded it, and remaining an integral part of that bashtina. These charters were framed within the limits of the public law, which in the main governed all classes of church holdings.

All church or monastic foundations or any other public utility—drinking-fountains, etc.—were and are still called in Servian "Zaduzhbina" (in duty's weal).

Although it was customary, especially with the Nemanya Rulers and the great nobles of that time, to found monasteries and churches (Zaduzhbinas), those church foundations could never attain the same extent of power in the State as that possessed by those of the Roman Catholic Church in Western Europe, the reason being that the Serb Churches were, without exception, founded for direct purposes of public utility, and the obligations and conditions contained in the charter formed part of the public law, which gave to the people the right to exact fulfilment of those duties.[1]

8. SEBAR OR COMMONER

Taken in a general sense, all of the non-noble inhabitants came under the broad classification of "Sebar, plural Sebri, or as a class Sebrdyia." In the revised edition of the Code Doushan, 1346, Article 152, the population is considered under three classifications: Vlastela, Sredni Lyudi (middle folks), and Sebrdyia. What Sredni Lyudi meant cannot be determined by the documents or other articles of the code, as not one of them mentions it again. It has been thought that the term may indicate an attempt to create, out of the lower part of the lesser nobility

[1] Even to-day the Servian wayfarer finds hospitality at a monastery as a matter of ancient custom and law.

and that part of the commoners most conspicuous through distinguished attainment or superior fortune, a gentry or a middle class. If such were the case the attempt evidently came to naught.

The Sebri as a class, comprising the whole non-noble population, had in the fourteenth century no participation in State affairs, and did not sit in the great national assembly (Sabor); either they had been excluded from the Great Sabor or they had not yet attained that measure of their national rights. Article 69 says distinctly that the Sebri are forbidden to sit in the Sabor.

Two Croatian documents of 1527 complain of a certain great lord who attempts to force poor noblemen to become Sebars, that is, to deprive them of their national political rights. (Koukoulyevitch, "Acta Croat," pp. 225, 231.)

The Sebar, however, had voice in the local administration through representation in the assemblies of the Zhupa and of his own Grad or Selo.

The Sebar in his personal and individual status was recognised and protected from violence and oppression, or the suppression of his personal rights, by the powerful classes (nobility) possessing superior political privileges.

The Sebar and nobleman alike, in all litigations civil or criminal, could be judged only by the royal or imperial courts of justice.

In regard to crimes against public order directly specified, all men, whether nobleman or Sebar or others, were equal before the law, and the punishment

meted out was the same to all alike, These crimes were specified in Articles 21, 93, 95, 96, 107, 118, 130, 140, 144, etc. For instance, Article 21 says: "Whoever sells a Christian (man, woman, or child), his hand shall be cut off and his nose slit." Article 95 says: "Whoever kills a bishop or priest or monk shall be hanged, and whoever insults such a one shall pay one hundred perpers." Article 96 says: "Whoever is a parricide, a matricide, a fratricide, or an infanticide shall be burned at the stake." Article 130 says: "Whoever destroys a church in war or in peace time shall be hanged."

In regard to a number of other crimes considered to be less against the general public order, and bearing more particularly on the individual, the kind and degree of punishment varied according to the social status of the culprit and the injured party. Article 94 refers to manslaughter committed in a Zhupa or a Grad by a nobleman against a Sebar, fixing the penalty at the payment of a thousand perpers. If the same crime were committed by a Sebar against a nobleman, the Sebar paid three hundred perpers and had one hand chopped off. Article 53 decrees that should a nobleman violate a gentlewoman or any other, both of his hands should be chopped off and his nose slit. If a Sebar should violate a noblewoman he was to be hanged. If he violate one of his own class or any other, not a gentlewoman, his hands were to be chopped off and his nose slit. Article 155 provides that should a Vlastelin insult a Sebar he pay one hundred perpers; should a Sebar insult a Vlastelin he pay one hundred perpers and receive

several lashes. Article 85 declares if any one utters in public a "baboonska retch" (babboon word), *i. e.*, words of immoral, shameless, or godless teaching, if the offender be a vlastelin he shall pay one hundred perpers fine; and if a Sebar he is to pay twelve perpers and receive the lash.

The Sebars were the inhabitants of either a grad (town) or of a selo (rural community).

Gradjani.—The Sebar inhabitants of towns were called Gradjani, but did not form any closed or separate class or cast. They had special duties toward their Grad (see page 206, under Grad). The Gradjani in their property rights differed in no way from the Sebars of the rural communities.

The Gradjani (townsmen) are spoken of as Sebars, in a document of King Miloutin to the Monastery of Hilendar, 1309 (*Spomenik*, III, p. 14), also in a patent given by the Nun Eugenia (the Tsaritza Militza, widow of Tsar Lazar Hrebelianovich) and her two sons, Prince Stephan and Vouk Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich, 1395, to the Russian Monastery of Saint Panteleimon. (*Glasnik*, XXIV.)

Zemlyani.—No difference at all existed in the social status between the townsmen and the rural inhabitants. As the townsmen were called Gradjani, so the countrymen were called "Zhuplyani"—men of the Zhupa—or "Zemlyani"—men of the soil. Called Zemlyani in a document of King Stephan the "first-crowned" and in Article 174 of the Code Doushan, "Lyudi Zemalski or Lyudi Zemlyani."

Among the Zemlyani the agriculturalists were called "*Serbs*" and the stock-breeders were termed in general "*Vlachs.*" [1]

The Sebar's property was safeguarded to him by the same laws which protected the property of the nobility. The Sebar possessed bashtina bearing in principle the same privileges and character as the bashtina of the nobles, with the sole difference that the Sebar's bashtina was often in some degree dependent upon the bashtina of the nobleman. If the Sebar added to his bashtina by lands, mills, or other property which he bought, that property was called "Kouplyanitza" (bought).

Article 45 says, if a Vlastelin or other man (*i. e.* Sebar) possesses a bashtina church (monastery), neither the Emperor nor the Patriarch nor any other of the clergy (bishop is meant) shall have the right to bring it under the Great Church. But the Bashtinik (Vlastelin or Sebar owning the church) has the right to put a monk there.

The Archangel document says: ". . . And My Imperial Majesty gave to the Archangel Monastery . . . Orland Micovitch, with his bashtina, his vineyards, mills, and tenants, and all he had in the Grad Prisren, with his bashtina-village of Seltchani . . ." (*i. e.*, the taxes, dues, and servitudes from his properties).

[1] This term arose from the fact that in ancient times when the Serbs came into the Balkan lands in the migrations they found certain groups of cattle-breeders who were called Vlachs. Vlach is thought to be a form of the name "Welsh." In time, when these Vlachs had become entirely assimilated with the Serbs, the Serb stock-raisers still continued to be called generically Vlachs.

A deed of exchange between the Emperor Doushan and a Sebar named Mladen Vladoyevitch, states: ". . . The Emperor took with their free will and consent, and not by force, from Mladen Vladoyevitch, his mother and his relatives, their Church of Saint Saviour at Prisren, with all belonging to it, villages, tenants, acres, vineyards, and 'rights' which they had in the Grad of Prisren or in the Zhupa—or elsewhere, and gave to them in exchange, in the Grad of Ochrida church for church, village for village, vineyard for vineyard, mill for mill, and all that the St. Andrea Church had prior to then; . . . all that shall be the bashtina of Mladen and his mother. . . ." (*Glasnik*, XV, p. 270.)

The situation of the Sebars, Gradjani (townsmen) or Zemlyani (rural Sebars) varied according to the privileges of their landed property, or the duties which the land possessed by them owed to its superior lord, and which, therefore, were incumbent on the tenant or inferior landlord.

The two main orders of Sebars were the "*Slobodni Lyudi*," "independent men, men possessing bashtina unencumbered by servitudes except toward the State" (including rich Sebars with tenants, and those who had no tenants); and the order of Sebars called "*Merops*" or "*Kmets*," in the Code Doushan, who themselves were merely tenants, or whose bashtinas bore, in addition to the servitudes toward the State, other servitudes toward a domain.

"*Slobodnyi Lyudi*"

The "Slobodnyi Lyudi" ("*independent people*") formed a considerable proportion of the population. They were all commoners or Sebars, who possessed free bashtinas, bearing the same privileges and duties as those of the nobles—that is, paying the "sotje-tax" and military service, and all other obligations exacted by the State from the bashtina of the Vlastela. It has been surmised that "Sredni Lyudi" (middle folks) was another term for "Slobodni Lyudi," but there is no documentary indication to that effect.

These rights were extended also to the Parish Priest, and to a widow with children.

The Parish Priest.—The parish priest enjoyed the privileges of the Slobodni Lyudi.

Article 11 of the Code Doushan ordains that the bishops shall appoint a priest, called Popa, to every parish, Grad, or rural community. There was usually one priest to every twenty or thirty "Koutchas." The popa so appointed could not desert his parish. Unlike the monks living in the monasteries, bound to absolute poverty, the parish priest, whose duties lay among the people, had family rights and duties, and the use of "three pieces of land" fixed by law, called "Zhdrebyie," which was the source of his income. This land was free of all dues and robot-duty except to the State. Whatever extension of land the popa might add to his three pieces came under the ordinary law of tenant's land and could claim no exemption.

If a popa brought with him to the priesthood inherited land property (bashtina) it also enjoyed the same immunity as did the usual church land, but he had no right to ask for or receive the "three pieces of land" allotted to the popa having no bashtina.

The son of a priest having only his "Zhdrebyie" could inherit from his father if he "learned the Book" and followed his father as priest; otherwise he could not inherit the "Zhdrebyie," but became a "Merop," that is, an ordinary member of the rural community with the usual rights and obligations.

Article 31 says: "A priest who is a bashtinik shall keep his bashtina and it shall be free. The priest who has no bashtina shall receive three pieces of arable land . . . and it shall be free. . . . If that priest takes more land he shall perform robot-work due from the extra land taken as fixed by law. . . ."

Article 65 provides that "the priest who has not his own 'stas' [Greek for bashtina] shall receive three pieces of arable land and shall not be able to leave the parish, . . . but if the over-lord of the parish refuses to give him the three pieces of land he shall make complaint to his bishop, who shall bring the matter before the Vlastelin or over-lord, asking him to give the land as the law requires. If the Vlastelin or over-lord refuse, the priest is free to leave the parish. If the priest owns a bashtina the over-lord cannot send him away from that parish."

King Stephan Detchanski, in the Detchani document, says: "If the son of a priest 'learns the Book' [becomes a priest] he may remain with his father on the Zhdrebyie [*i. e.*, he may inherit it]. If he does not 'learn the Book' he shall become a Merop. . . ."

A popa was often attached to a monastery—living outside of its precincts—to look after its temporal business affairs, a kind of intendant.

The parish priests were exempt from certain taxes paid by laymen. Article 37 says that the parish priests "are exempt from church taxes, which they shall collect from other bashtiniks"—[to hand it over to the Bishops]. A document of King Stephan, "The First Crowned," to the Monastery of Zhitcha, 1222, says: ". . . The taxes that come in from the Popas [priests], the Vlacs, or the Serbi, called the 'ecclesialical Bir,' shall be given to this monastery. . . ."

A document of King Stephan Detchanski says: ". . . The Vrhovina [tax] which prior to now the popas have paid to the Bishop of Hvostno, they shall hereafter pay to the monastery of Detchani, . . . because my Royal Majesty has bought this Vrhovina from the Bishop of Hvostno . . . for four hundred sheep and their lambs, and five hundred perpers. . . . Therefore the popas and the other people [on those lands] shall not be any longer within the authority of the Bishop or Archbishop, and shall not pay them the Vrhovina or other dues as they have heretofore done. . . ."

The Vrhovina and Bir were different names for the same tax, which was two dinars for each "bed" or married couple.

The Widow, "the poor Spinner."—Article 64 says: "The poor Spinner [meaning a widow with children] shall be exempt from robot-work and all other taxes and dues from which the priest is exempt."

The Merops or Kmets

The great mass of the Servian population was formed of those holding land either as tenants of a domain or whose bashtina was encumbered with servitude toward a domain. They gave to the domain a certain measure of manual labour fixed by law. That labour was used by the over-lord to work his private estate.

They went for justice before the royal or the imperial courts of justice only, the over-lord having no jurisdiction or any other rights whatever over them.

They included: (1) The "maistors," that is, the handicraftsmen, master masons, master smith-wrights, wheel-wrights, saddlers, armourers, etc. (2) Sokalniks—Sheriff's men, court ushers, messengers, etc., and probably men who gave armed service to the over-lord as his retainers. (3) The simple agriculturalist, called Meropah or Merop in the Code Doushan. These same people were called in south-east Servia, "Parikes" (a term of Byzantine origin); in northern or north-western or western Servia, Kmet.

A document of Ivan Tsrnoyevich, Prince of Zeta (Montenegro) in 1485, mentions an exchange between him and a nobleman named Ratko Ostoyich "with his brothers, cousins, nephews." "In

exchange I gave to them, with their consent, field for field, . . . grapevine for grapevine, . . . tree for tree, as bashtina for all time, . . . and all that was the estate of the House Ostoyich shall be monastic 'Stoupovi' [estate], all that was Kmetshtina [land held by the Kmets of the domain of the Ostoyich] shall be the Kmetshtina of the Church and the Kmets on it shall perform robot-work for the Church estate." ("Monumenta Serbica.")

The Kmetshtina or land held by the merops, and which was not merop-bashtina, was divided among them in equal parts. See Article 67.

Legal Characteristics of the Merop Tenure.—Legal measures were enacted to prevent those land contracts, which were for life, from being broken, either by the merop abandoning his land to pass to some other domain, or by the over-lord enticing tenants from another domain to his own, or by an over-lord driving away merops in order to seize their land. Article 22 of the Code Doushan says: "Merops who have abandoned their lands to go and settle on church lands shall return to their original domain." Article 201: "If a merop abandons his tenure, the over-lord of his domain, upon finding him, can have him punished and exact a bond for good behaviour, but he cannot seize any of that merop's property."

Article 32 says: "If administrators of church villages and lands drive away tenants of those lands, merops or vlachs, . . . they [the administrators] shall be bound and imprisoned, lose the lands and people they had in administration, and shall remain in prison until they shall have brought back all those

whom they drove away." Article 93 says: "Whoever entices or takes away a tenant from another domain shall replace him sevenfold." In the same sense are the Articles 115, 140, 141, and 164.

In spite of these restrictions aimed at preventing violation of tenure by either party, the full liberty of action of the tenant otherwise was protected. Article 121 says: "No Vlastelin, greater or lesser, nor any one else, shall prevent his tenants or any other person, merchant or other, from attending the market-places. All persons shall be free to come and go as they will." Article 122 says that whoever violates this law shall pay a fine of three hundred perpers or ten horses.

A document of King Stephan Doushan to the Republic of Ragusa says: "If any person interfere [harmfully] with the business dealings of a Ragusan and a zemlyanin who is selling grain or other products to the Ragusan, he will incur My anger and pay a fine of five hundred perpers."

The "Saint Stephan" document of King Miloutin says: "No abbot shall force a tenant on church lands to work for any other persons, but every tenant of church lands is free to perform whatever work he will for others, but only in addition to the obligatory work on his own land to which he shall return."

A document of 1391 between Ragusa and the brothers Sankovich (Zhupan Belyiak and Voyvoda Radich) is a mutual agreement stipulating that their people should be free to interchange allegiances and freely migrate from one territory to the other.[1]

[1] A privilege almost unknown elsewhere in Europe up to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Foreign emigrants were accepted as tenants, unless excluded by treaties with foreign States. (Articles 117, etc.)

The guarantees of personal liberty, protection of life and property, the safeguard of all individual rights, as well as the fixing of responsibility, secured by the organisation and efficient administration of justice and public order in Servia, created conditions of great prosperity and content among all classes of the population. To such an extent was this true that there occurred important emigrations into Servia from neighbouring countries.

The biographer of the Emperor Doushan, Gregorious Zamblack, says: "In Servia there was so great a prosperity that many people from afar left voluntarily their native lands and settled in Servia." (See *Glasnik*, XI, p. 67.)

This historian's statement is confirmed by other documentary evidence, first among which are the land grants to emigrants recording their names and their native countries. These show emigrants from Italy, Germany, the hereditary Austrian lands, Hungary, Transylvania, Byzance, and Asia Minor.

Bashtina Rights of Merops.—The merops or kmets have the same right as other Sebars (commoners) or a nobleman to possess bashtina (freehold property inheritable), except that the merop or kmet bashtina bears a servitude toward the domain and its over-lord, which was the obligation to furnish (for the whole bashtina, however large the family might be) one man's work for a certain number of days fixed by law per year.

The merop or kmet had full right to dispose of his bashtina. Article 174 says: "The Zemlyani-Merops who possess their own bashtina land, vineyards, and 'Kouplenitze' ['bought in addition'] shall be free to bestow that property in dowry, to place it under monastic domain, or to sell it, on condition that there shall be always a work-hand to perform the robot-work for the over-lord." A document of the Emperor Doushan to the Archbishop Jacob of Seres says: "The pariks shall not pay tithes on behalf of their bashtinas,[1] but if they work church land in addition they must pay tithes of one-tenth to the church on the produce of those lands." (*Glasnik*, XXIV.) A document of King Stephan Detchanski to the Archbishop of Prisren refers to "Saint Simeon's Church domain with all its people and their vineyards, mills, 'na-mestyias' [farms], bashtinas, and kouplenitze. . . ." (*Glasnik*, XIX.)

The laws of inheritance in regard to the bashtinas of the zemlyani resembled those concerning the bashtinas of the nobles. Males only inherited, or, in default of male heirs, the women inherited only the Selishtye (farm building), the garden, and the best piece of land. The Saint Stephan document, 1313, by King Miloutin, says: "The poor Spinner [the widow] who has a minor son shall remain in possession of the whole bashtina until he grows up, but if she has no son she shall keep only the buildings, the garden, and the best piece of land."

[1] Under Byzance the inhabitants of Seres paid tithes on their property to the over-lord. This document shows that on Seres becoming Servian these tithes were abolished.

The father could bestow his bashtina or part of it upon his daughter either as dowry or gift, or he could give it to others during his life; but dying intestate, it followed these regular laws of inheritance.

In case the "zemlyani-merop" had no bashtina, or their holding was too small, it was customary for the Domain to allot to them whatever lands they needed as bashtina. This was a policy intended to keep the tenant on the territory. The Archangel document says: ". . . My Imperial Majesty settled the master masons, . . . with all their brothers and children, . . . and gave them the lands in the village Youtoglavi . . . arable land, meadows, mills, vineyards, . . . and all of this shall be the bashtina belonging to them and their children. . . ." (*Glasnik*, XV.) The same Archangel document continues: "And the Hegoumen [Abbot] of the Archangel Monastery told to my Imperial Majesty . . . that it [the Monastery] possesses in the village of Senyani a large vineyard, but not enough people to cultivate it by robot-work. . . . He also said that those people possess very little land of their own. . . . Therefore My Imperial Majesty ordered that those people shall divide among themselves all the land which the Church holds in those villages and they shall own it as bashtina."

Zemlyani could also acquire bashtina in other ways, such as by the clearing of forests which gave title to the land. A document of King Miloutin to the Hilendar Monastery, 1318, says: "Where the folk of the Archbishop shall clear land within this forest and make of it fields or meadows it shall be theirs in bashtina." These rights were abused, and

so there was brought into usage a principle taken from the Justinian Code, that a man must get permission from the owner of the forest to clear the forest land, and that those lands could only be held by him for three years—after which they reverted to the owner.

Article 123 says: "In all places where the Saxons [1] have cleared land prior to this Sabor [Legislative Assembly, 1349], they shall retain those lands in possession. However, if they have taken land without the right to do so from a noble or any one else, he shall bring suit against them according to the laws of the Holy King Miloutin, but henceforth the Saxons shall no more cut down woods. If they clear they shall not plant the soil nor settle on it, but leave it uncultivated so that the forest can grow anew. No one shall forbid the Saxon to cut wood, but he shall cut only what is necessary for the mine or the market."

Obligations of the Zemlyanin-Merop Toward the Domain.—Every merop had certain duties to perform toward the domain from which were exempt the Priest and the "poor Spinner," meaning a widow with children.

In regard to the rest of the zemlyani the reciprocal rights and duties between the over-lord and themselves were clearly defined by law. Article 68 defines exactly the dues, robot-dues, and duties of the merop (zemlyanin) toward the over-lord, concluding with the words: "Nothing shall be taken or

[1] The Saxons here mentioned were the descendants of those German miners who emigrated to Servia in the time of King Vladislav, 1224–37, an event which marked the beginning of the development of the mining industry in Servia.

exacted from the merop which is not prescribed by the law." If the domain exacts beyond what the law allowed, or in any way oppressed the tenant, the tenant had the right to cite the over-lord to appear before the royal or imperial courts and receive justice. The article dealing with this point makes it clear that there is to be no respect of persons in the application of this law, to which any person of any rank whatever, even the Ruler himself, is amenable. This Article 139 establishing clearly the right of the merop to sue for justice in the law courts irrespective of the rank or position of the offender, is in full keeping with the modern spirit of justice. This law had been in practice among the Serbs as early as the twelfth century, when the population of Western Europe were sunk in the misery of the Dark Ages, and it was incorporated in the great Servian Codification so far back as 1349, when Western Europe was still unable to show any similar conception of equality before the law—which, indeed, began only slowly to dawn there in the seventeenth century.

Article 139 says: "To the merop in the realm of My Imperial Majesty the over-lords [public officials, etc.] shall do nothing against the law and nothing exact that is not fixed by the law. The merop shall only do robot-work and give to their over-lords that which My Imperial Majesty has inscribed in the law. If their over-lords should do anything to them contrary to the law My Imperial Majesty orders that every merop shall be of the will and free to take legal proceedings against his over-lord [so offending]. Should that lord be even My Imperial Majesty or the

Ruins of the Castle of Goloobatz, fifteenth century

Empress, or the Church or the Vlastela of My Imperial Majesty [State officials], or whosoever else—no one shall be able to keep him away from the law courts, and the judge shall judge his case as it is according to the law. If before the courts the merop wins against his over-lord the judge shall have care to see that the over-lord shall pay in time to the merop [what the court awards, without delay]. The judge shall also look to it that the over-lord takes no revenge against that merop."

Church Tenants.—All of the zemlyani living on the Church domains, except during periods of national defence against the Turks, were exempt from all imperial robot-work or tax. Article 26 says: "All churches within my Empire are free from all robot great and small."

The list of these exemptions are: (1) Military service; (2) Building corvée or robot on fortifications, Grads, or other State buildings (Article 128); (3) Guarding of the Grad; (4) Furnishing relays for transport service, called "provoz" (Article 34), except when the Sovereign himself travels; (5) Feeding and caring for the horses and dogs and their grooms, except when the Sovereign himself stays at the Monastery [document of King Vladislav, 1224, to the Monastery of the Mother of God]; (6) Huntsman's service; (7) Convoy or guard of honour to foreign Ambassadors; (8) The Imperial tax of "Sotje," dimnitza, grazing licence, mast licence [for hogs].

All of these exemptions from duties to which all other classes of zemlyani were subject were conceded

to the church domains directly by the State, and the church tenants incidentally benefited thereby.

These exemptions existed up to the middle of the fourteenth century, but it must be borne in mind that the monasteries were not, for all that, free of obligations toward the State or public. In return for each one of these exemptions a public duty of another kind was imposed upon the monastery. (See page 233.) With the Turkish invasion many of those exemptions were repealed, and in those times, the end of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, the monasteries participated in the Turk-tax [tribute], military service, building of fortifications, etc. (Document of Vouk Brankovich, 1392; Document of George Brankovich, 1419; Document of Despot Stephan Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich, 1411.)

The servitudes of the zemlyani or tenants of the church lands toward those domains varied according to the statutes or deeds founding the churches and bestowing them with land. Documentary evidence for the measure of robot-work given by the zemlyani to the church can be found in many documents or deeds of that period, but the most explicit on that subject in the Saint Stephan Document of King Miloutin, 1313.

The measure of robot-work of the zemlyani toward the church were of three kinds:

(1) The first kind was based on work alone. To each house of the zemlyani was given a fixed extent of land of the church estate (Stoupovi) to be worked; the extent of this land surface was from seven and a

half to nine mats,[1] which land surface they were bound to cultivate, plough, sow, etc., delivering the harvest to the monastery. It was the monastery which decided what crop was to be sown, whether of wheat, oats, barley, etc. This measure of work was exacted from the agriculturalist. The handicraftsmen and the sokalniks, in view of their other duties, had only to do a third of this work measure.

In the case of single families, where there was only one man (yedinatzi), the law prescribed that several of them should form a work community, which community would represent the robot-unity; and it was the duty of the Hegoumen (Abbot) to organise these communities so that, as the law says, "the duties should not fall heavier upon the yedinatz than upon a household living in Zadruga."

A curious ordinance, showing that the spirit of the time turned more to the agricultural exploitation of the soil than to the development of industry or handicraft, provides that among the sons of handicraftsmen, only one could take up the trade of his father, as "master handicraftsman," the others becoming either sokalniks or merops. Similar in aim was the regulation concerning the sons of priests. Besides the tilling of the soil of the stipulated surface measure, other robots or dues, fixed either by time or by the amount of work, were incumbent on the zemlyani living on a church domain. Those were the mowing of grass land, working of the remaining arable soil of the

[1] One mat was identical with the Italian measure, the modius, which is equal to 1992.5 square yards; or one mat is equal to two-fifths of an acre. Seven and a half to nine mats make from three to three and three-fifth acres.

church estate, vineyards, etc. This servitude was incumbent on all and everybody (zamanizom, *i. e.* altogether). The other robots or services were of a negligible quantity, and covered this or the other of the monastery's needs, such as hunter's service, building, transport, etc. Some services were especially required from merops, some from sokalniks, others from maistors. There were also dues "in kind," which fell on one or the other of the zemlyani either regularly, like the "bee-tithe," or extraordinarily, as on the occasion of the visit of the Ruler to the monastery.

(2) The characteristic of the second manner of allotting the work (robot) was to measure it exclusively by time. This method of fixing the servitude incumbent on the inhabitants of a church domain was in general use in a later period, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Archangel document of Emperor Stephan Doushan, fixing the servitude, says: "Two days in the week, 'nad dimicom' [a workman per house or family], they shall perform the robot apportioned to them by the Hegoumen, . . . make hay, and work in the vineyard, . . . as the law says." The Hilendar document of the same Emperor prescribes: "Two days' robot in the week, two days' in the autumn, one day ploughing in the spring, one day haymaking and one day working in the vineyard."

These ordinances meant that each house was to furnish to the monastery, one worker for two days in the week, at the disposal of the Hegoumen (Abbot). There was also certain work of the season to be performed by everybody (zamanizom): haymaking,

autumn and spring ploughing, vineyard work, etc., fixed at two days in the year. In fixing the work duties by time, no difference is made between a merop, a sokalnik, or a handicraftsman. There exist some ordinances concerning individual merops or handicraftsmen which mitigate for these individuals the robot-work, making it different, or fixing money payment in its place. But as always these exceptions confirm the general rule. The other dues incumbent on the zemlyani, the furnishing of lambskins, flax, wine, bee-tithes, etc., were of a negligible quantity in comparison with robot-service.

(3) The third plan of measuring and fixing the servitude of tenants on the church domains was in contrast with the two foregoing methods, as it was in principle the payment of rent in money or in kind, but not in work. This was specially the case with those monasteries whose domains were very small, comprising almost solely the church estates. In such a case the monastery, instead of working the church lands by means of the labour due to the domain by the inhabitants, settled them with farmers who were simply renters. The monastery was no longer the over-lord but the landlord. This rent was in general one-tenth of all farm produce.

There were also monasteries which owned more land than could be worked with the labour dues controlled by them, and those lands were let out to others. Many are the ordinances which forbade the letting of such land, but where it was allowed by the Sovereign with the consent of the Sabor, the rent was fixed either at one-third or one-fourth of the harvest revenue.

There is evidence of the existence of many church domains where all three methods of fixing the dues and servitudes were in use.

The Conditions of Robot and Dues of the Zemlyani Living on Domains Belonging to the State, the Sovereign, or Private Individuals.—The conditions of service and the amount of dues were similar to those required from tenants of church domains.

According to the Code Doushan, each house of a zemlyanin (merop) had to give the labour of one man during two days each week in cultivation of the domain. Each of those tenants was also obliged to work (all working together) one day in the year at haymaking and one day at vineyard culture. Article 68 says: "The merop [one man per house] shall work two days each week for the Pronyiar and shall pay the Imperial Perper.[1] Further, he shall work one day at haymaking and one day in the vineyard, and that working altogether [zamanizom]. If the Pronyiar has no vineyard he can apply this one day's [vineyard] labour to any other use. What a merop has ploughed or hoed he shall also reap, but in addition to what is fixed by the law nothing shall be exacted from him." Article 139 and other articles of the Code Doushan also strictly forbade the over-lord to levy any further labour dues than the amount fixed by the law.

In addition to these labour dues which the zemlyanin gave to their domain, they owed to the State certain duties, viz.: (1) The Sotje tax or Imperial Perper, which tax was collected by the over-lord and delivered by him to the imperial treasury. (2) Mili-

[1] Perper or the Sotje tax, payable either in kind or money. (Article 198.)

tary service—incumbent upon every bashtinik noble or commoner. (3) In connection with the military service was the quartering of the imperial troops and the army transport service. However, Article 135 restricts and regulates this service, providing that in a village district where troops have camped in passing through the land, no others may stop during the season. (4) To lodge and give hospitality and transport service to the imperial convoy (Article 60). (5) To feed and shelter the imperial herds, horses, dogs, and falcons in transit, and give hospitality to their grooms. These duties were limited, and the villages were protected by legal restrictions. Article 187 says: "If the imperial horses or herds pause at a village, the grooms and herdsmen shall bear an imperial letter" (showing their right to receive hospitality). Article 189 says: "The villagers shall give to the grooms, herdsmen, etc., only what is mentioned in the imperial letter and nothing further." Article 38 is in the same sense. (6) The zemlyani also gave to the State manual labour for the building of fortifications, fortresses, castles, and other public constructions (Articles 127, 128). (7) They also furnished service as guards of public roads and fortresses in their own districts (Articles 157, 158). (8) Finally they had to give hospitality and act as guard of honour through their own districts to foreign ambassadors and to certain especially mentioned State dignitaries—the State banner-bearer, the chancellor, etc. (Article 57); but the stay of these travellers in a village or district was limited to the time of one night and two meals (Article 110). Articles 155, 156 for-

bade any other Vlastelin (nobleman or State official) to accept "Priselitza" (hospitality) in any village without paying for what he received, unless it be a village in his own domain. Article 159 allowed the travelling merchant or tradesman to ask of the village one night's lodging and food—without payment.

In addition to these duties the zemlyani paid a tax to the ecclesiastical authorities, called either the "dimnica," "Vrhovina," or "Bir." To the State they paid certain occasional surcharges of taxes—"podanci" and "nameci"; further, to the Zhupa, the Zhupa tax, called "Priplata." What all those taxes exactly amounted to cannot be determined from the documents extant, but they do not appear to have been heavy or the cause of complaint. The zemlyani paid fees for grazing or mast-licences, "travina" or "zhirovina," for cattle and hogs on lands outside of the village domain. At a later period during the heavy time of defence against the Turks in the fifteenth century, two extra taxes were introduced, one the "uncha," for national defence, payable in two instalments, summer and winter, similar to the sotje, and the so-called Turk-tax to meet the tribute exacted by the Sultans. Both the Uncha and the Turk-tax were paid by everybody, nobleman and commoner, church and laymen.

Vlachs

More or less different from the preceding picture is the condition of the vlachs (cattle-raisers). This term vlachs in this period does not merely designate the descendants of the ancient Thako-Illyrians but

was applied also to those Servians who were not agriculturalists but were stock-raisers.

The different circumstances growing out of the development of property rights first in the valleys—which were settled with agriculturalists—then extending over the high alpine grazing lands, modified by degrees the free and wide roaming of the vlachs, whose sole rule had been to follow their cattle wherever they might lead, seldom returning to the starting-point. These roaming habits became in time regulated and limited so that they centred about settlements. There was the winter settlement, or "zimishtye"; and the summer settlement, or "letishtye" (Article 197), was the summer grazing range.

The permanent settlement of the vlachs, the "Katoun," was in the earlier times simply the scattered herdsmen's huts in the hills, without any delimitation of a Katoun district. In the later period the Katoun was like any other village.

A curious phase of the roaming habits of the vlachs was that from ancient times they were the public carriers for commerce and trade throughout the Balkan Peninsula. The nomadic character of the vlachs caused them to be insensible of the property rights or results of labour of the other inhabitants of the lands they traversed, and destructive of property and of social organisation. They were not looked upon with favour, and their passage across the lands became more and more marked by quarrels and law-suits.

A letter from the Government of Ragusa to the King of Bosnia, 1406, states that certain vlachs, at

the request of the King, had been permitted to winter on Ragusan territory, and complains that those vlachs have shown themselves to be quarrelsome, bad people, having no regard for others, and that they had wrought great damage to the neighbourhood; that they had also killed a man, and that henceforth the Republic of Ragusa would refuse to give permission for the vlachs to winter within their territory.

As early as the time of Stephan Nemanya, in 1198, the Servian rulers attempted to subject the vlachs to some regulation, and to fix them in settlements. As a rule they were not taken into the army except to do transport service. It was forbidden by law for a Servian (agriculturalist) to marry a vlach woman. If such a marriage occurred, the woman had to leave the vlachs and settle in her husband's village. He was not allowed to join the cattle-breeders, and as a penalty he lost his right, for him and his children, to bear arms in the defence of his country. He was classed with the transport men.

Among other protective measures, the law forbade the vlachs to pass during the same year where other vlachs had passed before them, or to follow after an imperial or State convoy, etc. (Articles 82, 187, 135.) Article 82 adds: "If vlachs violate the law, the oldest among them, their leader, shall be bound and delivered to the headman of the village and held until they have paid all damage done sevenfold; also they shall pay the 'Potka.'" [1]

[1] Potka was the fine for trespassing. It was one hundred perpers for vlachs and fifty perpers for agriculturalists. Half of the fine went to the State and half to the Domain. (Article 77.)

The vlachs were judged in the imperial courts for all crimes: bloodshed, vendetta ("djak"), murder, violence, kidnapping, robbery, theft, and land disputes. In regard to petty offences among themselves, they came before the Katoun Elders and the Katoun court of popular judges, called Men of Conscience.

Labour and Other Dues of Vlachs.—The chief extant documents relating to this subject are the Hilendar document of Stephan Nemanye, 1198; the Hilendar document of King Miloutin, 1293; the Saint Stephan document of the same king; the letters patent granted by King Stephan Doushan to the monastery of Hretovo, 1337; and the Code Doushan.

If vlachs were attached to a domain, either church or other, they gave labour dues toward the stock-raising of the domain, sometimes receiving payment, when the stock belonged entirely to the estate, in coin or in kind, called "mesetchina"; or they took charge of herds on shares. In such cases they were exempt from all other work and dues. The vlachs who possessed their own herds gave robot-dues—transport service, haymaking, or even ploughing; or in lieu of work they gave the domain yearly one ewe and lamb with one fleece, or a horse or other animal; in leap years an extra horse or other animal, or thirty perpers.

There were separate grazing laws fixing the licences for the winter and summer ranging. (Articles 81 and 197; and further, the Detchanski document, 1330, and the St. Nicholas document of King Vladislav, 1234.) These licences were: from each herd of three hundred sheep, two sheep, two lambs, one cheese, and one heavy dinar; of each one hundred mares, one mare;

of each one hundred head of cattle, one animal. In small herds one sheep and lamb were paid out of every hundred. The licence for ranging hogs over oak-mast were in like proportions.

9. OTROKS

The class of otroks, few in number and not widespread, was the lowest in the social order, yet they were never slaves. Their situation was easier than that of the "serf" in Western Europe. They had family rights and property rights; they were judged for crimes by the Imperial or Royal Courts of justice, though they did not have the right of personal appeal to the Emperor (Article 72) enjoyed by all other classes of the Servian social organisation.

What the otrok really was—whether a man under ransom, a fugitive criminal, or a debtor—cannot be determined, but whatever his origin, he was not a slave or bondsman, and his position was superior to that class to which the term "serf" was applied in Western Europe.

Article 44 says: "The Otrok shall be bashtina to the domain to which they belong, but an Otrok shall never be given away in dowry or sold."

His rights are indicated in a deed of exchange of 1419. Prince Alexa Petrovitch exchanges his "Grad" Biyela, in Bosnia, with the Bosnian Voyvod Sandaly for a village of thirty houses. This deed fixes as terms that "Alexa shall upon the surrendering of the Castle vacate it with all his family, all his movable goods, and all those of his Otroks *who choose to*

follow him." ("Servian Monuments in the Ragusan Archives," by Prince Medo Putchich.) Another document of King Stephan Doushan, 1336, refers to the otroks "who voluntarily become part of a Church domain." The document enumerates those otroks by name showing among them "a master smith."

The Hilendar document of King Miloutin, 1300, proves that the otrock enjoyed complete family rights: ". . . Desislav and his son-in-law Rad, Berislav, his son-in-law Dragiya, and his second son-in-law Tudor. . . . Stanko, his brother-in-law [shura —brother of the wife] Dobre, . . . Radin and his brother-in-law [pashenog—husband of the wife's sister] Dragiya, . . ." etc.

Article 46 says: ". . . And the Otroks, which some Bashtiniks have, shall be in bashtina; . . . only those Otroks whom the Bashtinik or his wife or his son can 'forgive' [oprostiti] shall be free."

What is it that the Vlastelin has to forgive, or to what did this "forgive" [oprostiti] apply? The answer is perhaps indicated in a letter written by the Council of Ragusa, in 1408, to Princess Mara (Lazarovich) and her son George Brankovich. The Ragusan Republic sends as prisoner with this letter a Ragusan citizen named Frank Vassilyevich, who is a debtor [criminal?] toward Mara and her son George, and who had not been able to wipe out his wrong or his debt. The letter states that this is the second time this man had been sent, owing to the fact that Mara and her son George had previously held him once and let him go, but that "now they shall have him again and do with him, . . . your

debtor, . . . what you will." ("Servian Monuments, Putchich.) The Servian word for "transgressor" or "debtor" is the same, which appears to strengthen the indications that an otrok was a debtor either morally or materially who was paying his debt by personal service. A phrase of the Code Doushan says that if a man suffers wrong from a "bad" otrok he shall not claim damages from the otrok's master, but shall take redress from the otrok himself.

Not only were the over-lord's rights to dispose of the otrok limited, but equally restricted were his powers of jurisdiction over him. Yet the otrok was the only class whatever over whom the lord of the domain held judicial authority of even the smallest nature. Article 103 says: ". . . The Otroks shall be able to enter suit concerning their mutual affairs before their lord, but in regard to all other offences, such as murder, manslaughter, vendetta, robbery, theft, kidnapping, etc., they shall be judged only by the Imperial Courts."

Article 67 provides that the merops and otroks shall divide among themselves the land of a village domain according to the proportion in which they pay their robot and other dues to the domain. This and other articles, as well as other documents, show that the otroks were able to possess property.

Anti-Slavery

The Servian ideas and usages concerning slavery and slave-trade merit more than passing mention. The Byzantine Emperor, Mavrikios (d. 602), says that the Serbs did not put their prisoners of war into

slavery as all other nations did, but held them only a certain time subject to ransom; or if there was no ransom, the prisoner was allowed to remain with them, "free and friendly." (Jirecek, "History of the Bulgarians.")

The institution of slavery as then practised all over the rest of Europe and in Byzance was wholly unknown in Servia. There is no document to show any trace of slavery, or that there ever existed in mediæval Servia any class of human beings treated as chattels to be bought and sold. Article 21 of the Code Doushan says: "Whoever sells a Christian shall lose his hand and have his nose slit. . . ."

A letter of the Zhupan Tchernomar, 1253, to the Republic of Ragusa complains that the Ragusans have kidnapped (stolen) people away from his lands and "sold them on the other side of the sea." ("Monumenta Serbica.") A treaty of 1253 between King Stephan Ourosh and Ragusa says that the Council of Ragusa admits that there are persons in Ragusa whom the Ragusans had kidnapped, but that these people were not yet sold, and that they undertake to free them and return them to the King.

In 1320, 1325, and 1340 strong representations were made by the Servian kings against slave-trade. The original documents of complaint have not yet been discovered, but there are extant the Ragusan ordinances citing these representations. These ordinances forbid under heavy penalties the accepting, the concealing, the selling, or the transportation to a slave-market of Servian men or women as slaves. In the ordinance of 1325 the same prohibition in

regard to Servians is strictly enjoined upon all foreign traders who come and go in Ragusa.

In 1400 the King of Bosnia, Stephan Ostoya, complains to Ragusa of the existence of slave-trade. The answer of Ragusa reads: ". . . Be it known to thy Majesty that we have sent orders to all market places and published that no persons shall buy or sell human beings. We will not allow that any one shall trade in human flesh. . . . If any person is found acting contrary to this order we will so punish him that no beholder [or those who see it] shall ever dare to do the same."

There is a letter written in 1419 from Ragusa to Prince Paul Youriyevich which reads: ". . . And what you [Prince Paul] write us about those who have sold human beings, it is, dear friend, already known to the whole world that we have taken much pains, have written much, have ordered much, and have made known, in so far as our power goes, that human beings shall not any more be bought or sold. . . ."

With the coming of the Turkish invasion, slave-trade, which was a normal condition of the Ottoman social and political organisation, and which, indeed, was then practised in most regions of the world, was introduced for the first time into Serb lands, and under the Turkish domination flourished as a legitimate form of commerce.

10. THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

From the twelfth century to the middle of the fifteenth century the judicial system in the Servian State, as it existed under the Servian Empire, before that under the Kingdom, and even at a far

earlier period, was one of the noblest monuments of Servian civilisation and, indeed, of all Christian civilisation of that day. It was King Miloutin, in 1290, who, basing himself on the old usages and customs, first firmly formulated the administration of justice in Servia.

Before his time justice was administered locally in the counties or Zhupas by a popularly elected court of judges (kind of jury) and by the Sovereign in person. King Miloutin organised a body of judges learned in the law, which formed part of the regular State administration. They became the Royal and, later on, the Imperial Judges. Each judicial district had a bench of "learned" judges appointed by the Sovereign.

Early in the thirteenth century the principle of circuit courts and travelling judges were Servian institutions.

Article 179 says: "The judges shall travel through their districts [circuits] and look into the affairs of the poor and oppressed and right their wrongs then and there," being invested with powers of public prosecutors.

Article 180 says: "Judges while travelling are not allowed to exact or take by force anything, either food or any other thing. They can accept only what is voluntarily offered them." (They received incomes from the State as pronyars.)

The Courts were: (1) The Royal, later Imperial Courts, comprising the Circuit or District Courts, the presiding Judges of which were appointed by the Sovereign (Article 179), and the Courts of the Grads

or Town Courts, over which presided the Kephalia. (2) the Village or Rural Courts composed of judges locally elected. (3) Commercial Courts, of which the presiding judges were State officials connected with the Treasury Department. They were the "Tzariniks," who were intrusted also with the collection of the inland and customs revenues. (4) the Ecclesiastical Courts.

In all cases civil or criminal, decision was reached by means of a jury, an institution existing from earliest ages in the administration of Servian Justice.

The Royal, later Imperial Courts, judged all matters, civil or criminal; every citizen of the State had the right to ask justice of those courts or of the Sovereign himself. (Article 72.)

Equality Before the Law and Rights of the Individual

The Sovereign himself (the Emperor), according to the Code Doushan, could be cited before the courts by the meanest of his subjects for an offence which would bring any other individual there. Article 139 says: "The Vlastelin shall not do anything contrary to the law against a Merop in the lands of My Imperial Majesty. The Merop shall only 'robot' and give to their over-lord what My Imperial Majesty has prescribed in the law. If their over-lord shall, contrary to the law, do them any wrong, so My Imperial Majesty orders: each Merop shall be 'of the will' and free to sue his over-lord in the law courts, should that over-lord be My Impe-

rial Majesty, or the Empress, or the Church, or the Vlastele of My Imperial Majesty [Government officials], or any one else. No person shall have the power to keep him away from the courts, and the judges shall judge his case on its merits according to the law, and if before the court the Merop win his case against his over-lord the imperial judge shall take care to see to it that the over-lord pays to the Merop and in time what the judgment awards. The judge shall also see to it that the over-lord does not take any revenge against the Merop."

Article 172 says: "All judges shall judge according to the law as it is written and prescribed in the 'Zakonik' [Code Doushan] and not in fear before My Imperial Majesty."

Article 171: "In case My Imperial Majesty should give to any person a 'writing' in anger or in friendship or in grace, which is contrary to the law and not according to justice or the legal ordinances, the judge shall pay no heed to that writing and shall judge regularly and according to law and shall see to it that his judgment is executed."

Article 72 edicts that every member of the population except the otrok had the right to ask the Sovereign personally to sit in judgment on his case. This popular privilege, however, led to such extraordinary abuse that it was limited by the legislative assembly of 1354 in Articles 181 and 182, which latter decreed that "No person living within a court circuit shall call his adversary or cause him to be called before the Emperor for judgment. Further he shall not have the right to bring his adversary

before a court out of his own district, but he shall sue for judgment in the courts within his own district." (See also Article 175.)

So long as an individual had not been personally served with a writ to appear, the Court could not pronounce judgment against him or her. (Article 104.)

"If a case concerns a poor widow who is not in a position to complain or to go before the court to defend herself, she shall nominate a substitute who shall speak for her in the case." (Articles 66 and 73.)

Article 184 forbids imprisonment without a writ of judgment or a written order of the judge. It says: "None of the Vlastele [here referring to administrators] or Kephalia having the administration of Grads and market-places shall imprison a man without an imperial writ or an order of the judge. Should any man do so without this express writ, he shall pay a fine of five hundred perpers."

Article 185 is to the same effect, but applies to the administrators of State-prisons.

These imperial writs were securely prevented from ever assuming the character of the "lettres de cachet" of the French kings at the time of the French Revolution by the general observation of many safeguards to the people's rights provided by the Servian law—notably in Articles 139, 171, etc., setting the Sovereign, before justice, on an equality with the humblest of his subjects.

Articles 112 and 113 give the right of asylum and protection to any unjustly persecuted person at either the Emperor's court or that of the Patriarch.

Procedure

The order of court procedure was: The complaint or accusation; issue of the writ or citation before the court; service of the writ on the defending party; appearance of the complainant and defendant before the court; statement of the complaint and defence; argument of the complaint or prosecution; argument of the defence; judgment and execution of the judgment. The proofs accepted in both criminal and civil cases were: The testimony of witnesses, written proof, such as letters, documents, etc., and the application of an oath to the accused or the contestants.[1]

The procedure and conduct of the cases before the courts were verbal, but the verdicts and judgments rendered were written. The litigants were not allowed to become personal or abusive to each other in the presence of the court, but were bound to maintain correct attitude and behaviour. They were not allowed to change the complaint during the course of the trial.

All judgments were as a rule definitive. Only cases which one of the judges desired to take for a higher opinion were "appealed" and taken before the Sovereign.

Article 181 provides that should the suit concern a difficult matter, "and should the judges find them-

[1] The superstitious means of ascertaining guilt called the "judgment of God," trial by ordeal, water, fire, etc., then in general use all over Europe, was permitted in Servia, though it was no part of the regular procedure, and was not much employed. The person so condemned had the right by law to appeal to the Sovereign for clemency.

selves unable to come to a decision in pure justice, . . . one of the judges shall come with both litigants before My Imperial Majesty."

Article 163 says: "All judgments rendered by the courts must be written in books kept for that purpose. The persons in whose favour the judgment is pronounced shall receive from the court a written copy of that judgment." (See also Article 181 to the same effect.)

Article 89 says: "If a man causes another one to be brought before the court under an accusation and himself fails to be present in court when the accused comes up for trial, the accused after having waited during the time fixed by law shall, if his accuser does not appear in court, be considered free from the accusation" (*i. e.* the case against him is dismissed).

Article 148 says: "If a judge appointed by My Imperial Majesty shall give an order concerning a robber or a thief, or any prosecution or law-suit, all who fail to obey the judge's writ, whether a Church authority or a Vlastelin or any other human being within my Empire, shall be punished as disobedient and disloyal to My Imperial Majesty" (*i. e.*, punished by confiscation of property).

Article 111 says that if any Vlastelin insults a judge when serving in his official capacity, or show contempt for a judgment rendered, all his property shall be confiscated; should a village so offend, it shall be dispersed.

Each judge was assisted in the execution of the judgment rendered and in all other proceedings of the court by the "Pristav," or sheriff, and his men,

called "Sokalniks," who served the writs and did police duties. This Pristav was invested with the right to act as public prosecutor; he could also act as the defender of an accused person.

Money fines were collected by an officer called "Globar," "Globa" being the fine itself.

The authority exercised by the Pristavs and Sokalniks in the fulfilment of their duties is shown in Article 107: "If any person resists a Pristav or the Sokalnik of a judge (in the execution of his duties) his property shall be liable to confiscation."

Article 178 says: "Should persons resist the execution of a judge's order placed in the hands of his Pristav or Sokalnik or send them away, the judges shall commission the Khephalias or Vlastele [administrators] of those districts to execute the orders of the court. Should those administrators [Government Officials] in turn refuse to execute the judge's order, they shall also be punished in the same way as the other disobedient persons" (*i. e.*, by confiscation of property).

The Pristavs, who must be "good, just, and veracious" men (Article 163), in serving a writ may not deliver it to the wife, if the husband is not at home. Neither is it permitted to cite the wife before the court without her husband. The wife shall inform her husband that he is called to appear before the court, but so long as he remains in ignorance of that fact he cannot be considered guilty." (Article 104.)

Article 162 provides that the Pristavs shall not act except in strict accordance with the written order put in their hands by the judge. "Therefore the

judges shall always retain a copy of the orders or writs given by them to their Pristavs or Sokalniks. Should those officers of the court be accused of executing otherwise than was ordered in the writ, or of altering the terms of the writ, they shall justify themselves before the court, and should it be proven that they have executed the court's order in exact accordance with the writ—of which the judge has a true copy, they shall be declared innocent, but if it be proven that they did fail to execute the judge's order in strict accordance with its terms, or that they altered those terms, they shall as punishment have both hands cut off and their tongues cut out."

The Constitution of Juries

The Constitution of Juries (*Code Doushan, Articles* 76, 80, 151, 152, 153).—The most ancient judicial institution among the Serbs was the jury. From times of earliest records every man had to be judged, whether in civil or criminal cases, by his peers. This is clearly formulated in the Code Doushan (Article 152): "As in the time of my grandfather, the holy King Miloutin, the Vlastelin shall be judged only by Vlastelins, the Commoner by Commoners," referring to the composition of the jury.

Documents show that a nobleman was judged by nobles, a commoner by commoners, a commercial man by commercial men, a handicraftsman by handicraftsmen, agriculturalists or merops by men of their own condition; and even the otrok had a right to be judged by a jury of otroks. In mixed cases, vlas-

telin and commoner, etc., the jury was composed half of noblemen and the other half of commoners, etc.

The Servian jurymen were especially elected for each case. They were sworn to give justly and truly the result of their opinion, being entitled to say only "guilty" or "not guilty." The Code Doushan, referring to the jury, says, Article 151: "From this time forth the jury, to judge in both important cases and those of less importance, shall be composed of twenty-four jurors for the great suits, twelve for lesser ones, and for small affairs six jurymen. The juryman must not be a relative of either party to the suit, neither shall he be in friendship or at enmity with either. The juror shall only pronounce 'guilty' or 'not guilty' [or in civil cases who is right and who is wrong]." A majority decided.

Article 80 refers to land actions. In case of a boundary dispute between villages, for example, each of the two villages furnished one-half of the jury and the court was held on the site of the ground in dispute. According to the procedure a fixed number of witnesses were cited, chosen generally from among the oldest inhabitants. These witnesses, like the jurors, were put under the "terrible" oath. (Article 151.)

The Detchanski document referring to a certain boundary litigation says: "There were present the Judge Bogdan, the jury, the witnesses, and the 'Zbor' of the villages."

The jury was sworn in by the priest under what was called the "terrible oath," and they deliberated within the Church. (Article 151.)

There were juries of three natures:

(1) The oldest form, the "Porota," was made up of popular judges chosen from among the inhabitants for the occasion. They were sworn in to listen to the case. They not only gave judgment, but from among their number named certain members to see that the judgment was executed.

(2) The type most resembling the modern jury was called either "Porota" (Porotnik) or "Doushevni Lyudi" (Doushnik). They found a verdict, and it was the duty of the royal or imperial judges who presided to pronounce sentence and enforce the execution of the judgment.

(3) The third sort of jury was the "Dobri Lyudi" or "men of good conscience" who were not sworn in, but who acted as arbitrators and mediators in small litigations.

Ecclesiastical Courts

The questions which were judged by the ecclesiastical courts were those bearing directly on morality and the sacraments, such as marriage, divorce, adultery, blasphemy, etc. The judge presiding over these courts was called the "Archiyereyin." (Articles 2 and 12.) No layman was qualified to sit in judgment on such matters.

Marriage was a sacrament and was legalised by the church only. The church alone, and that in rare cases, could pronounce divorce (a usage which still obtains in the Servia of to-day). The Code Doushan says: "If a husband repudiates his wife, he must pay penalty: if a Vlastelin, a penalty of six oxen; if he be a lesser noble, two horses; and if a

commoner, two oxen. If a wife abandons her husband the penalties are the same, but if she cannot pay these fines her punishment may be commuted into strokes with the lash. The husband has the right forcibly to take her back. In case the husband has abandoned his wife he is forced to return to her; if he has meantime cohabited with another woman he shall be forced to abandon that woman and return to his wife. A heavy punishment of lashes was visited on the woman who abandoned her husband for another man. Parents were forbidden to encourage a daughter to abandon the husband's home.

Every subject had the right to sue for justice in the imperial courts of justice—district or circuit courts or others. One article, however, of the Code Doushan appears to be at variance with these rights, and in it certain students have detected the presence of "feudal" justice in Old Servia. That article is somewhat obscure in terms. It is Article 33, which says: "The church people shall bring their lawsuits before their archbishop, bishop, or igouman. If both parties belong to the same church, they shall stand for justice before the head of that church, but if they belong to two different churches, the heads of both churches shall sit in judgment."

Only three papers among a large mass of documents indicate that Article 33 might refer to church tenants. Those documents are: (1) Prince Constandin to the Church of the Ascension at Shtip, 1388, and (2) Tsar Lazar Hrebelianovich, 1387, to the Russian Church of St. Panteleymon on Mount Athos. The third document is the confirmation of the last by

the widow of Tsar Lazar, Militza (then a nun under the name of Eugenia). It is signed by her and her two sons Stephan and Vouk, 1395. (*Glasnik*, XXIV, pp. 271–287.)

All other documents, such as those of Emperor Doushan, 1347, to the Monastery of Lyeshnovo (*Glasnik*, XXVII); of King Miloutin, 1322, to the Monastery of Gratchanitza ("Monumenta Serbica"); the Detchanski document, 1330 (*Glasnik*, XII); a document of King Doushan, 1336 ("Mon. Serb."); a document of Despot Stephan Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich, 1403, to Hilendar ("Mon. Serb."), with all the others extant, are in complete accordance with the spirit of free justice exemplified by the Servian Codex.

It is evident that, with some few exceptions, the church tenants went for justice to the ordinary public courts of justice.

Private Law

All matters relating to private law concerning property rights, inheritance, bashtina, servitudes, etc., and the rights of the individual were clearly defined in the Code Doushan, though most of them were regulated by usage rather than by the written law.

Criminal and Penal Law

All crimes and penal offences came under the direct jurisdiction of the Royal or Imperial Courts, and no person of whatever rank was above the law.

The Code Doushan shows an advance in justice as then administered over the rest of Europe in that

money fines did not make up the sole sort of punishment applied. Long imprisonment pending heavy ransom was not practised in Servia, although prisoners of war were sometimes held for ransom during a certain lapse of time. They were generally well fed and allowed to take the air. Such a captive says in the ballad of "Ban Strahinya," "Red wine didst thou give me and white bread, and oft brought me forth to the sunshine."

The Servian modes of punishment as fixed by the law included not only money fines, but imprisonment, the lash, the death penalty, dismissal from office, and dispersal of villages. The confiscation of property, so common in Western Europe,[1] lay alone in the power of the Sovereign in Servia, and was very restricted by the laws to certain well-defined cases of crime, such as high treason, robbery, resistance to execution of a judicial order, and the forgery of public documents. (See Articles 140, 111, 107, 138 of the Code Doushan.)

Insult, bodily injury, manslaughter, illegal perception, or extortion of taxes or customs dues, and illegal imprisonment without judgment, were punished by money fines accompanied by corporal or other severe punishment. A juryman for a prejudiced "finding" in the exercise of his duties was punished by a fine of one thousand perpers, and was liable as well, according to circumstances, to corporal

[1] These money fines were the punishments usually inflicted by "Justice" in mediæval Western Europe, and were in reality only means of extortion, by torture, in order to extract confessions that would entail the levying of heavy fines or the opportunity to seize an individual's estate or belongings. (See Seignobos.)

punishment. The same punishment was meted out to a judge for a like offence. In cases where a fine was inflicted it could be transmuted, as at the present day, into imprisonment.

A judge could commit the accused to prison awaiting trial. If the prisoner, however, could find a person or persons to give bond, and guarantee his attendance at the court for trial and judgment, he could ask and obtain liberation pending his trial.

The crime or offence was always the same in the eyes of the law by whomsoever committed.

A differentiation was made in regard to the standard of punishment for certain crimes considered as offences not so much against public order as against the private individual as an individual. (Articles 53, 55, 85, etc.) For all crimes against public order, such as murder, robbery, incendiarism, theft, etc., exactly the same punishment was inflicted upon the highest noble as upon the individual lowest in the social order. (Articles 21, 93, 95, 96, 107, 118, 130, 140, 144, etc.)

In regard to those offences, where a differentiation of punishment existed as applied to persons of different social orders, the disparity was exceedingly slight in comparison with the justice meted out in Western Europe at the same period to persons of different social ranks.

Servia never knew feudal justice in mediæval times or at any other period. Never in the Servian State did the Lord of the Domain possess right of justice over his tenants. The only member of the population who received a kind of "feudal justice,"

and that only in regard to petty fights, disputes, and affairs with those of his own order, was the otrok. (Article 103.) But although he came before the over-lord of the domain in these matters, even the otrok, in regard to all serious offences and crimes, such as murder, manslaughter, vendetta, robbery, theft, kidnapping, etc., went for trial before the public courts of justice.

The two greatest crimes against society were considered by the Servian State to be robbery and the abuse of power. Article 142 says: "If a Vlastelin, whom My Imperial Majesty has given land and Grad to administer, should plunder or oppress the villages or the people or disobey the ordinances and laws given by My Imperial Majesty at the Sabor, his administrative territory shall be taken away and the damages and depredations he has committed shall be paid by his house and he himself shall be punished like a fugitive from justice."

Article 57 says: "If a Vlastelin is on Priselitza [hospitality rights], and on that occasion abuses this right or does damages, or plunders, puts fire to houses, etc., . . . such Vlastelin shall loose his administrative territory, shall not any more be given any administrative post, and shall be punished like a fugitive."

It is supposed that the special stigma on "robbery" was emphasised by the necessity of safe-guarding the security of the public roads, as the great land route between Western Europe and the Orient lay through Servia then as now.

Articles 145 and 173 deal with robbers and thieves.

Article 145 says: "Throughout all the land . . . there shall be no robber nor no thief; . . . the village where a robber or a thief is found shall be dispersed; . . . a robber shall be hanged and a thief blinded. . . . The over-lord of the village shall be brought bound before the court . . . he shall pay back all that was robbed or stolen . . . and [in certain cases] shall be punished in the same way as the robber or the thief."

Article 173 says: "If a Vlastelin, be he Greek, German, or Serb, bring in his train to the Imperial Court a robber or a thief, he shall receive the same punishment as that given to the robber or the thief."

All evidence seems to indicate that the Rulers of mediæval Servia were successful in practically stamping out robbery, and securing an astonishing measure of security to travellers, at a time when in the rest of Europe highway robbery was a flourishing and highly profitable profession.

Responsibility and Restitution

Another most interesting phase of Servian legislation was the principle of "responsibility." This principle grew out of the ancient usages of common life and the solidarity of interests in the house community, the Zadruga, the Grad, and the Servian village. Another prominent principle in Servian legislation was that of restitution. Recompense for all damage was given the first place in justice, while

punishment by fine or otherwise was only a secondary consideration.

The Zhupa, the Grad, the village, the Zadruga or house were each within its boundaries held responsible for the acts there committed, and were obliged to make full and complete restitution. Throughout the entire territory of the State the Sovereign was held personally responsible for public order. If merchantmen (who were generally foreigners) were robbed or suffered loss by theft within Servian territory, the Servian law made the ruler liable personally to compensate fully the merchants for their losses, with the right held in reserve afterward to find and punish the evil-doer, robber, or thief.

In Doushan's time these principles of responsibility and restitution were transferred to the shoulders of officials and administrators, locally, wherever they might be stationed.

Article 100 related to incendiarism; Article 20 to murder; Article 199 to the mutilation or malicious killing of domestic animals by persons unknown; Article 92 says: "If a horse is stolen and its owner finds it and recognises it as his property, he shall deliver up the thief to the nearest village, which shall keep him in custody to be handed over to the judge for judgment. The village refusing to fulfil this duty must pay a penalty and make good any loss."

Articles 58, 77, 144, and 191 all bear upon the responsibilities of villages and individuals for crimes committed within their precincts. Article 188 fixes the responsibility of villages in reference to crimes

committed on neighbouring waste or unowned lands outside of their own boundaries, which regions the law exacted of them to police and keep in order no less than their own territory, all the near villages being made responsible.

Justice for Foreigners

All civil disputes or law-suits between Servians and foreigners, and criminal cases between or involving foreigners, were judged before the imperial courts with the same procedure and privileges as if all parties were Servians.

If the litigants were of the same nationality they had a jury awarded them of their own nation, or if litigants were of mixed nationality the jury was of the two nationalities, half and half. The Ragusans had special privileges allowing them to be judged according to their own laws and before their own consuls.

Was the judicial and executive organisation such as to obtain the effective observance of the law and principles laid down in Article 139? All documentary evidence extant, according to historians and special students of that period, shows the answer to be in the affirmative. All evidence gives abundant proof that the abilities of every subject of the State to ask for justice in the public law courts, and to obtain that justice against even the highest in the land was so great that more could not be desired even to-day.

The whole measure of protection of the individual and the rights of redress insured by the laws and their effective execution in mediæval Servia was in favour of the common people and had special solicitude for the humbler member of society—for those who in other countries of the world were at that same epoch known as "rightless persons."

11. THE ARMY

Concerning the organisation of the fighting forces, the only data hitherto available—those found in the Code Doushan and certain old documents—are not sufficient to give complete information.

It is known that instead of the Clans-bands of warriors of the earlier Servian period, the military forces of the twelfth and fifteenth centuries became formulated into more regular organisation.

From the time of Stephan Nemanya every man possessing a Bashtina or landed freehold property, whether noble or commoner, came to the army. To bear arms in the defence of the country was an honour and a privilege.

Military service was obligatory for every able-bodied man, the church tenants only being exempt (their work being given to the monasteries who cared for the poor and the suffering).

There were two kinds of levies: first, the ordinary levy composed of the nobility, both great and small, who came to the flag followed by their own men, their special armed retainers, and at their own cost. The second kind of levy was the "Zamanitchka

Voyska" (all together)—all nobles with their retainers and all commoners, that is, the whole male population liable to service.

Only in times of grave national peril was the Zamanitchka Voyska called. In all ordinary wars or campaigns the Vlastela and other Bashtiniks with their retainers made up the army.

A document of King Stephan of Bosnia, 1458, to the Logothet Stepan Ratkovich, frees him from military service—"unless myself goes to war, then he shall come with his men; if a Zamanitchka Voyska is called for, all his villages, as do all others in our Land, shall join" (the levy).

Article 42 fixes that "each Bashtina shall pay the Sotje tax and also provide military service."

The working of the Servian army organisation can be seen in the Servian translations annexed to the Zakonik of ancient Roman and Byzantine military service laws and field service regulations. Those adopted were especially the military laws of Constantine the Great and Justinian.

One of these runs: "If war has begun . . . the whole army, each Knez and Voyvoda and each Vlastelin with his men shall join his Emperor, there where he is; . . . that Vlastelin who does not so come shall be deprived of all property which shall (thereafter) belong to the Emperor."

Cavalry was the great arm of mediæval Europe, but the Servians, in addition to cavalry both light and heavy, made important use of infantry. These foot-soldiers were sebars recruited from the main mass of the population. They were armed with the lance,

a long-handled battle-axe, and bow and arrows and later the crossbow.

Shepherds and other cattle-men ("Vlachs") were not employed as fighters, but served in the army train, called "komora," for transport and provisioning.

The Vlastela were the military leaders. The Sovereign was supreme commander of all the military forces. Should he not, however, take the field personally—all Servian rulers generally headed their troops in person—he intrusted the supreme command to one of the chief leaders with title of "Veliki Voyvoda"—High Military Chief. To him was delegated during the campaign the Sovereign's authority in regard to the control of all the forces.

Article 129 fixes the hierarchy of military command in accordance with the civil position of the Vlastela in the State. The Servian military organisation was, however, at no time the same as that of feudal Western Europe.

The Sovereign did not possess the power to decide for war or peace. He exercised that authority in conjunction with the National Assembly. As the call to arms of both levies of the national troops depended to so great an extent on the will of the National Assembly, it was the custom of Servian rulers to engage a permanent fighting force under their sole order, a body of mercenaries. Documents show that these mercenaries were heavy cavalry clad with heavy armour. They included knights from Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland, and Spain.

At the battle of Velbuzhd, on July 28, 1330, between the Servians commanded by King Stephan Detchan-

ski and the Bulgarians, which made of Bulgaria a Servian State from that day up to the Turkish conquest, the number of these mercenary knights formed a body of one thousand five hundred. The papal legate, who was sent from Rome to the court of Doushan as a special ambassador, reported that he saw three hundred of this foreign knightly company under the command of a famous Germanic knight named Palman Bracht.

At the battle of Kossovo, Vouk Brankovich, one of the sons-in-law of Tsar Lazar, led a body of Hungarian and German mercenary horsemen. According to popular tradition, it was the falling back of Vouk Brankovich's men that lost the day—and the empire—to the Servians.[1]

In regard to the whole organisation as well as equipment of heavy field pieces for throwing projectiles, the army followed Byzantine models.

The soldiers were equipped with either light or heavy weapons and armour. The heavily armed horsemen were called "Oklopnik." They wore a closed and heavy helmet of steel, body-armour back and front, with shoulders, arms, and legs shielded with steel—the full suit of armour in Western style, with steel gloves and gauntlets. Their steeds were also armoured. Their weapons were a heavy mace and the German broadsword and lance.

[1] The story is often repeated in Bosnia that at the time of the Austro-Hungarian occupation in 1878 an old Serb Moslem Bey named Brankovitch was taunted by a Hungarian officer of Hussars, who said: "It was one of your name who ran away at Kossovo, and gave the country to the Turks!" "Yes, yes, we know that alas," said the Bey, "but remember, Major, the men under him were a contingent of Hungarian mercenaries."

The light cavalry wore an open helmet with a band down the front to protect only the nose, a "toya"—a kind of breast-plate composed of heavy chain armour,[1] with arms and legs protected, and steel gauntlets. As weapons they bore a curved sword, a light lance, and a mace. Some bodies of light cavalry carried bows and arrows; their horses were unarmoured.

The infantry wore light toyas and all arms carried shields and helmet. The favourite arm of the Servians was the lance.[2]

The first cannon used in Servia was a small one brought to Kossovo field, as is supposed, by King Tvrtko of Bosnia, to whom it had been given as a present from Italians. Firearms came into general use during the fifteenth century. Flags and standards were used, and trumpets to call to the fight.

During that period it was the usage among all feudal armies of Europe for the warriors to forage for themselves during the campaigns, which were generally of short duration or made up of short expeditions. The same conditions prevailed in the Servian lands. During the march through the country, however, the communities were by law bound to provide certain quantities of food and lodging for man and beast for which they were indemnified. In

[1] The man on the white horse in the picture of the "Servian Exodus," wears the "Toya" armour and also the old Servian helmet. The coronation of Doushan, the frontispiece, also shows the Servian mediæval armour and accoutrement.

[2] After the arrival of the Servians of the Exodus in Southern Hungary, their deeds of prowess with the lance attracted the attention of the Prussian King, who enlisted a body of the Servian lancers in his service. He formed with them the famous "Bosnian Corps" of lancers which, under Frederick the Great, became the "Prussian Lancers." or "Uhlans."

garrison the warriors were quartered free, with fire service and fodder for the beast. When the borders were crossed into foreign countries a daily allowance ("diurnum") was made to each warrior for his keep.

Pillaging, looting, or any molesting of the inhabitants within the country where troops were quartered was stringently forbidden and severely punished. But pillaging was allowed by permission in the enemy's land.

12. RESOURCES, COMMERCE, AND INDUSTRIES

Agriculture.—The riches of the country in the Middle Ages, as to-day, lay chiefly in agricultural products and stock-raising. B. von Kallay said: "All the evidence shows that in agriculture and stock-raising the Servians reached a very high point of excellence." They raised especially wheat, barley, oats, rye, and millet, a grain known to the Serbs, and cultivated by them from remotest antiquity, and introduced from Servia into Western Europe in the second half of the thirteenth century.

The greatest extent of land under cultivation was devoted to wheat. Legislation concerning agriculture reveals the fact that there were habitually two crops, and that they knew "spring and autumn sowing," also that all the Nemanya rulers took deep interest in furthering and especially protecting agriculture and agriculturalists. The land and the labour of the tiller of the soil were objects of solicitude fully evidenced by the laws safeguarding the crops from damage or depredations, and allowing the owner to sue any

person of whatever degree in the courts of justice for injury to his fields or for oppressive administration.

Besides wheat, barley, rye, and millet, flax and hemp were much cultivated. Silkworm cultivation was wide-spread, and the silks woven as a home industry were renowned and sold all over Europe as Oriental silks.

Grape culture and wine-making were of much importance in Servia. The most famous of European wines, the "flaming Tokay," came from vineyards planted by the Servian Despot, George Brankovich, with vines taken from Servia, and were owned by the Servian Despots up to 1526. The Tokay from those same old vineyards—considered the most precious wine in the world—is to-day the pride of the Hungarian Crown properties.

The vlachs (stock-raisers) bred horses, cattle, hogs, and sheep.

Forests.—The forests, essentially in character the same as to-day though more thickly wooded, were considered in general as State property. There were immense and dense oak forests producing a heavy and rich fall of acorns. The Code Doushan provides for "mast-licences." Where forests were part of private property, the State still had a right to receive half of the revenue from the mast-licence.

Wood was much used in early times as building material, and from the great forests of Zeta (Montenegro), Zahoumlyia (Herzegovina), and Rashka large amounts of timber were exported for ship-building. Fires were made of wood or charcoal; much wood also went into the timbering of the mines.

The legislative assembly of 1349 decreed laws preserving the forests and providing for re-afforestation.

Hunting.—Much hunting of wild animals was carried on for furs. Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century the Balkans were the centre of a great fur-trade, Ochrida, a town of mediæval Servia, being the trading-point for furs, sable, ermine, fox, bear, etc.

The nobility, or Vlastelin, hunted with dogs and with falcons. Boar, bear, and deer were the chief objects of the hunt. The commoners gave huntsman service to the domain, especially in the quest of dangerous or mischievous animals such as wolves, foxes, weasels, martens, etc. The hare—not the rabbit, but the dark-fleshed game hare—was hunted by all classes. The special duties of certain vassals of the monasteries was hunting in order to provide game for the tables.

The many laws scattered through Servian legislation protecting land under cultivation and crops, and the principle of responsibility and restitution of recompense for any damage to agricultural property, make it appear unlikely that huntsmen were allowed to pass across planted fields, as Serbia was never feudal. There is no record referring directly to hunts passing across growing fields—a privilege deriving from feudal rights, and still existing to-day in some countries of Western Europe where the feudal régime still leaves many traces.

Mining.—The region of the Balkan Peninsula enclosed within the great Serb-inhabited block of territory was known even in antiquity for its rich

deposits of gold and silver, the revenues from which financed the great wars of Philip of Macedonia and Alexander the Great.

In the Middle Ages the proper development of mining in Servia in the same regions began under King Vladislav with the importation of Saxon miners. The minerals extracted were gold, silver, copper, lead, tin, and zinc. Travellers of the fourteenth century report that in Servia there were five gold mines and six silver mines being worked. The mines and ores extracted from them were, under Servian mediæval law, the property of the State, but it was usual for the State to lease the exploitation of the mines to private individuals, who were generally Ragusans, Venetians, Italians, or Saxons. The lease was on terms of royalties or rental at fixed yearly payments. The gold and silver mines of Novo Brdo, as evidenced by documents, were worked in the fifteenth century by Ragusans, who paid for them to the Servian rulers two hundred thousand ducats rental, or about four hundred and eighty thousand dollars yearly.

The Servian gold and silver mines attracted large numbers of Venetians and Italians, who flocked to the mining Grads, which became also the centre of highly skilled art-workers in metals who made for exportation many objects of art in gold, silver, and bronze.

Commerce and Industry.—In addition to agricultural pursuits and cattle-raising, the chief occupations of the Servian populations, commerce and the mining industry, attained a certain importance between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries.

Commerce was principally in the hands of the Servians along the Adriatic littoral, foremost among whom were the Ragusans. With them competed the Venetians. Servians, too, of the interior engaged in commerce to a lesser extent.

Servia's position astride the land routes between Europe and the Orient gave her a large transit trade. Indian merchandise passed through Servia.

The value of this commerce, chiefly in the hands of Venetians and Ragusans, was fully recognised by the Servian kings and legislature, and is indicated by their many commercial treaties with Ragusa and Venice, in the numerous privileges and advantages accorded by Servian law to merchantmen and their caravans, and in the responsibility assumed by the Servian State and rulers for any loss or damage suffered by the merchants en route or by their goods in transit through the country.

The very considerable extension of commerce throughout Servia was due chiefly to the enterprise of the Ragusans, and to the wise dealings with them on the part of the Servian State. The wisdom of the Servian rulers in all that concerned the economic interests of the country is seen in these measures, and in the important privileges accorded to the Ragusans, who, in return for these privileges and the perfect security and protection which their commerce found in those lands, paid yearly to the Servian treasury five hundred golden ducats in addition to the import or customs duties on their wares.

All merchandise had to pass into the country through certain fixed posts or towns where the customs

houses were, and where the import dues were levied by the Tzareniks.

Servia sent into Italy and Byzance gold and silver bars, and golden and silver objects of art and ornaments of highly perfected workmanship wrought by Italian and Venetian as well as by Servian goldsmiths. The art of filigree then brought to high excellence has remained to the present time one of the characteristic arts of Servian jewel-makers.

Servian exports also included soft lead from Bosnia and hard (mixed with antimony) from Sebrenitza and Podrina; hides, live-stock, woods (especially for ship-building); smoked and dried beef, hams, mutton (smoked), game, and other meats; honey and beeswax; wines, grain, wheat, barley, and rye; tanned leather, resin, pitch, charcoal, flax, hemp; wool and silk (chiefly to Italian weavers of silken fabrics and fine cloth makers).

The imports were: salt from Ragusa; arms (cuirasses, swords, shields, and all other armour) for knights and warriors from Italy, Spain, and Germany; velvets, fine silken textures, and cloth of gold from Italy and the Orient; pearls and precious stones, and gold and silver threads for embroideries from Constantinople; church ornaments and vestment stuffs, fine household furniture, chiefly Venetian, for the nobles; and many articles of personal luxury and dainties for the table. These table dainties were called "djiakonia" (student's food).

"*Trade-routes.*"—Merchandise was transported to and from and through the country on pack-horses

and in wagons, which developed a good-road system in all directions.

The main roads were:

(1) From Salona (to-day, Spalatro), on the Adriatic, across Dalmatia and Bosnia to Syrmium (to-day Mitrovitza, on the Save) and Belgrade.

(2) The "Via de Bosina," from Ragusa to Trebigne, thence to Fotcha and Plevlye, passing by the monastery of Mileshevo, to Sienitza, Trgovishtiye (to-day Novi-Bazar), and thence to Voutchitrn, on Kossovo plain.

(3) The road called sometimes "Via de Ragusa," from Ragusa through Trgovishtiye, following the valley of the river Toplitza, crossing the foot-hills of the Kopaonik mountains, passing Scoplyia (to-day Uskub) to Nish, thence to Plovden (Philippopolis), to Constantinople. It was a fifteen days' journey by this road from Ragusa to Nish, and from there to Constantinople another fortnight.

(4) The highway called "Via de Zenta," or Zeta, starting from the mouth of the river Boyana, the port of Skodra (Scutari, in Albania), along the valley of the Drin to Prisren, thence to Lyplyian, on Kossovo plain, on through Novo-Brdo to Vranyia and Nish.

(5) The road from Belgrade through the valley of the Morava River, and from there across Vranyia and Scoplyia (Uskub), following the valley of the Vardar to Salonika. From Scoplyia, a branch of this road leads over Kumanovo and Velbuzhd (to-day, Kustendil) to Philippopolis and on to Constantinople. Another branch from Nish along the valley of the Nisheva River, through Sofia, Philip-

popolis, to Constantinople. This latter road from Belgrade to Constantinople was the far-famed road of the Crusaders, and was called the "Via Egnatia."

Money.—The moneys used in the older periods up to the time of Stephan Nemanya were for the most part Byzantine or Venetian coin. Under King Vladislav in the early thirteenth century appeared Servian-minted silver. Under King Miloutin, Servian gold and copper pieces were also minted.

The coins bear the image or the crest of the Sovereign, and the inscriptions are in Servian and in Latin. The Latin was necessary from the nature of the Servian commerce which was international. Documents show that not only Servian money but also foreign coin was in large circulation. These coins were generally spoken of as Italian and Byzantine.

There existed no coin called "perper," but the "perper" as a representative value was a counting unit, equalling the price of one "kabal" of grain.

The monetary coin in silver was the "heavy dinar," and the copper coin was the small or "light dinar."

The weight unit for precious metals was the "litra," a quantity of pure silver weighing about ten and one-quarter ounces. According to the fluctuations in the market value of pure silver, the value of the "litra" in perpers varied from twelve perpers in the thirteenth century to twenty-two perpers in the middle of the fifteenth century. Under Doushan, in 1350 the value of the litra was sixteen perpers. The value of the perper was about $1.20.

In Venice, Ragusa, and other Adriatic coast towns in Dalmatia and Italy it is seen in the commercial

transactions of the time that a litra was counted as twenty perpers—and the Venetian gold piece, the ducat, was counted as two perpers. The Servian gold piece, the "Zlatnik" was also two perpers.

At a later period a Servian "big" silver piece, called "Untcha," was coined equivalent to a perper. Twelve "heavy dinars," or "Srebreniks" (silver), represented a perper. The Srebrenik was divided into two coins, "Polutniks" (from half—polo vina"); one polutnik was made into two "soldi" or "groshe."

The soldo was the smallest silver coin and was broken into two copper pieces called little dinars or paras.

The minting and coining of money was the privilege solely of the ruler as representing the State. A licence was sometimes delegated to a provincial governor in whose districts gold or silver mining was carried on. There existed no specific place known as the mint, but the coins were turned out by gold and silver smiths under Government appointment. It was for that reason that it was a grave offence for any gold or silver smith to be found in a village, and was punishable by the dispersion of the village.

CHAPTER VII

THE SERVIANS UNDER TURKISH RULE FROM ABOUT 1470 TO ABOUT 1800

IN the year 1413 the southern Servian provinces were unable longer to hold out against the Turks. Servia in 1459, Bosnia in 1463, and Herzegovina in 1481 were all finally conquered and became Turkish provinces.

The basis of Ottoman power was the sword and the Ottoman State was and is an organised theocracy.

The Mohammedan religion is not a religion in the Christian sense involving principally the problems of morality, spiritual growth, and immortality. Mohammedanism is a state of society founded on a collection of laws and legal principles dealing with and ruling every event of individual and public life. The vast community of believers in various countries of the world basing their entire political, social, and religious fabric on that collection of laws, and the mystical, ethical, and philosophical tenets given by Mahomet in the Koran, afterward developed by the masters of the "Four schools" of Mohammedan teaching, forms "Islam." [1]

[1] Hence the necessity in Turkey and all other Moslem countries for every would-be reform or progressive act to be Islamized, which means to prove its basis in Islam, failing which it is rejected by the true believer.

For that reason where Islam is master no other civil status is recognised except in tolerance and in subordination to Islam. There can be no assimilation with people of other creeds or civilisation. The perception of that fact was vividly set forth in the arguments of that Sultan, in the seventeenth century, who urged that as Moslem victor and Christian vanquished could never make one people, Ottoman domination could become secure only by the universal slaughter of all Christians in conquered territories. Up to our own time that conclusion has haunted Stamboul like an evil dream.

The conquered Christian populations were disarmed and dispossessed of all property, and were soon pressed into a condition of serfdom under Turkish masters. They were called "giours" and in the mass the "rayah," "the herd." Whoever renounced his faith and became a Mohammedan was thereby instantly naturalised into Islam, receiving the status and all the life-chances of a born Osmanli. That was the sole means in his power of escaping from the subjected masses or of opening a door of opportunity.

The Servians in general refused to accept that door of escape from durance vile, and remained true to their Christian and national faith, even through the long night of practical extinction, hoping for a dawn though long deferred.

Many of the Servian nobles and numbers of the common people fled to Serb lands under Venice or those under Hungary. Certain ones among the nobles and others became Moslems, thereby preserv-

ing their lands and castles, and authority was given to them under the Turks as Pashas, Beys, Agas, and Spahis. They became ranged, in the eyes of the general populations, on the side of the conquerors, and were looked upon by the people as Turks.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the inhabitants had not only been subject to Turkish attack, but had been obliged as well to stand, ever beating back Hungarian invasions, the greater part of the nobles, mostly Bogomils, went over in a body to Mohammedanism.

Large numbers of Serbs, loyal to their faith and home traditions, escaped to the mountain fastnesses from which they were able to harass the Turks of the plains and so maintain a relative independence.

The Servians of the Rayah lived under great oppression and humiliation, their only means of protection being through the Servian Patriarch so long as one existed.

In case of acts of injustice or violence suffered at the hands of individual Turks, there was no possible redress. The Christians were forbidden the use of horses or camels, only mules and asses being allowed them. They were forbidden to ride even a mule or an ass in the presence of a Turk. It was not permitted that their houses should have a better appearance than Turkish houses. For their faith they had much to suffer. The clergy, few in number, were kept in miserable conditions, and churches which had been destroyed were not allowed to be rebuilt, the building of new churches being strictly forbidden. The sound of church bells was forbidden as was also

the reading aloud of the Holy Scriptures or the pronunciation of the name of Jesus Christ.

It was not lawful to make the sign of the cross, to show a cross, or to eat pork in the sight of a Turk.

The Rayah were not allowed openly to bury their dead; Christian burials took place at night or in secret; mourning for the dead was strictly prohibited either by costume or by symbol or in any other way.

Church services were often held in some secluded spot in forest or glen, sometimes under a chosen tree marked with a cross; or ordinary houses were built as if for a family, with a central hearth, and sometimes with surrounding storehouse and stable to avoid suspicion, and were consecrated and used secretly as churches. Such houses still exist in Macedonia.

1. THE ARMY OF CONQUEST

The Turkish army of conquest was composed of two main bodies, Spahis and Janissaries. The Spahis were the feudal cavalry. They were specially created to be settled on the lands won. These two branches of the army had been created by Ourkhan, son of Osman, to be the most terrific weapon of Turkish conquest. There existed also an irregular army body called Akhindji, bands of horsemen giving military service in return for the right to plunder and loot. They were the terror of all countries through which they passed, burning and pillaging along their road and carrying away the inhabitants

to be sold as slaves. In modern times they are called Bashi-bazouks.

As the countries were conquered the soil was apportioned out to the Spahis—in large feudal estates called Ziamet to the leaders, and in smaller ones called Timars to other Spahis.

A body of nine hundred Spahis formed a Sandjak or regiment under the command of an "Alayi bey." By extension the word Sandjak designated the administrative district which furnished the regiment.

The Janissaries were the main body of the Turkish army, and were stationed in and around the Sultan's headquarters. Unlike the Spahis, they were not settled on the soil, but were paid a solde, and were not allowed to hold or possess any landed properties.

This invincible fighting force was formed of the finest mettle in all lands under Turkish sway. Each five or seven years a special commission was sent by the Sultan throughout the empire to collect a human tax called "devchurme." All Christian boys from five to seven years of age found perfect of form and build were forcibly severed from their parents and brought to Constantinople, there to be trained up as Moslem Turks and Janissaries.

As the chief part of the Christian populations of Moslem dominions were Serbs, the Janissaries by the end of the fifteenth century were, for the most part, of Servian blood.

Parents, in order to keep their children back from the "devchurme," often maimed or crippled them, or branded them with a cross on the forehead so that

whatever befell, they themselves would know that they had been carried away from Christian homes.[1]

The Janissaries were trained and held under the severest discipline, and separated as a military order from ordinary life; they were not allowed to marry, and were considered the slaves of the Sultan, by whom they were clothed and fed.

Their insignia were the copper kettles[2] in which the "Sultan's soup" was made. These kettles were carried like standards before the Janissary troops.

The Janissaries were imbued with the sense of haughty pride in their bold prowess and relentless performance of their soldiers' duty, "striking steel through heart and soul if need be." At the time of their formation the Sheikh Bectashi, whose successors are the Sheikhs of Konia, and invest the Sultan, spoke[3] to the new troops and said: "You shall be called Yeni Cheri; your faces shall always be white and shining. You shall never leave a battle-field except as victors!" In the course of time, at the end of centuries, this flaming weapon became a sword of double edge, and by strange fate cut the hands that held it and was the means involved by destiny in the freeing of the subjugated lands.

[1] The greatest of all Turkish Grand Vizirs, Mehemet Sokolovich, and six other Grand Vizirs were Serbs, all of whom as children had been carried away as "devchurme" to Constantinople.

[2] These kettles, each being covered with a skin, were also used as drums. In time of complaint or discontent the kettles were turned upside down as a signal of refusal to drink the "Sultan's soup."

[3] In speaking, Sheikh Bectashi rested his hand upon the head of one of the Janissaries and his white sleeve fell over the hair. From that time, in remembrance of this incident, the Janissaries adopted as headgear a white felt piece like a sleeve which formed a high cap for the skull and, bending, drooped down behind.

2. METHODS OF ADMINISTRATION

After the fall of Constantinople, in 1453, the Sultan Mohammed II, 1451–81, was able to bring the Serb lands one by one under his direct rule, and at the moment of his death the Ottoman Empire comprised thirty-six Sandjaks or Sandjak-beyliks, which were territories settled by a Sandjak (regiment) of Spahis, whose commanders or Beys were also their administrators. A group of several Sandjaks formed a Beylerbeylik, under the command and administration of their superior officer the Beylerbey.

The Spahi-luks, the Sandjak-beyliks, and the Beylerbeyliks by the time of Sultan Suleyman, 1520–66, had become hereditary, and were a powerful privileged and dominating class, ruling as feudal lords the Christian Rayah, who were in the position of serfs.

It was only after the zenith of the Ottoman conquest was reached, with the victory over Hungary and the Servian Despotat at the battle of Mohacs in 1526, that Suleyman the Magnificent and his Grand Vizir, Mehemet Sokolovich, made laws regulating the land tenures and fixing the rentals, taxes, and other services of the Christian Rayah toward the Spahis.

The Empire was reorganised by Mehemet Sokolovich into two hundred and fifty-one Sandjaks and into twenty-one provinces or Beylerbeyliks. The governor of each of these provinces was invested with the title of Vizir. In the Turkish Empire in Europe

there were four of these provinces: Roumili, the largest, comprising all the Balkan Peninsula south of the Danube; the second was western Hungary, "Province of Buda"; the third was eastern Hungary, "Province of Temes." etc.

The succeeding Sultans were unable to maintain the Empire at the height to which it had been raised, being given up entirely to sensuous pleasures and becoming debauched and weak. Their reigns began a period of anarchy in Turkish administration comparable to the worst days of Byzance. The State was controlled by intrigues of women and eunuchs of the harems, and of greedy Vizirs and a gluttonous bureaucracy, all like vampires sucking the life forces of the Christian Rayah.

There exist many "impressions" of travellers written by Western ambassadors of those times to the Turkish Court. Mouradja d'Ohson, himself a Levantine, writing in 1780, gives one of the most striking pictures of conditions in the Turkish Empire as they were found in the eighteenth century. The matter in his book has been completed in detail by writings of Christian Servians who lived under conditions described by him: Nenadovich in his memoirs, Vouk Stephanovich Karadjich, and Vidakovich in his autobiography, all of whom were among the leaders of the Servian revolution.

Mouradja d'Ohson gives an account of the division of the Empire into one hundred and sixty-three departments called Livas. Several Livas formed a Vilayet or province; there were twenty-six such Vilayets.

Turkey in Europe was made up of the Vilayet of Roumili, the Vilayet of Bosnia, and that of Silistria and of Djezaer (Greece).

Each Liva was subdivided into casas (Kazas), communal districts, consisting of either a town and its dependencies or of a rural canton called Nahia, each with its own municipal jurisdiction.

At the head of each Vilayet was the Pasha "of three horse-tails," with rank of Vizir. He had the general supervision of the whole Vilayet, and also one or more Livas under his direct personal administration. The other Livas in the Vilayet were governed by a Pasha of two horse-tails' rank.[1] It was during that time that the term Pashalik came into general use.

It was the Turkish system frequently to change the Pashas. They were never allowed to remain in their Livas long enough to accumulate any individual power. This continual change opened the door to a vast merchandise in offices. The large amount of "bakshish" which a Pasha was compelled to dispense at the successive gates leading to the final attainment of the coveted post, or in order to keep such a post for any length of time, had to be "recouped"

[1] The honorary title "Pasha," a Persian term meaning "the foot of the Shah," was conferred by the Turkish sultans upon the superior military leaders or high officials. The highest Pasha was the Pasha of three horse-tails, so designated from his right to be preceded by a standard staff bearing a globe from which floated the number of "horse-tails" to which his rank entitled him. The administrative heads of the Turkish provinces were generally invested with the title of Pasha. The provinces or administrative divisions came by usage to be popularly denominated "Pashalik." The Pasha in his administration of his Liva was aided by two or three men elected from the moslems of his Pashalik, called "Ayans" (notables).

somehow, and it was the province that paid through exactions of various kinds, levied by the Pashas, who, once installed, were responsible to no one, and had free range of the Pashalik during the limited period of their sway. These governors held over the population, both Christian and Turks, power of life and death and absolute power regarding property.

All that was asked of them at Stamboul was that they should send enough tax money to the imperial treasury and that the province should give no trouble to the Sublime Porte.

The Pasha resided in the chief town of the Pashalik, which he rarely left from the time of his arrival up to his departure. He administered the province through agents whom he appointed. The Pasha was the chief military commander of the Pashalik. Pasha Beys and Spahis resided in the towns at the seat of government.

Each Pashalik (Liva) was subdivided into Nahias in which the Turkish officials concerned themselves especially with the administration of justice.

In the medjliss, or law courts, judgments were pronounced in the name of the Sultan, but on the basis of Islamic law and regulation. Serbs had no legal rights and were unable to obtain justice before the law against Moslems.

Dwelling in the towns were the judges of higher rank called Mollahs and Muftis. At the head of each Nahia district was a Kadi. The Kadi was aided in the execution of his judgments by an important person called the Musselim, who was the

sheriff and chief of police for the Nahia, representing the authority of the Pasha.

Neither Kadi nor Musselim received a salary, their payment consisting of the fines, costs of litigations, and bribes, all of which were fixed arbitrarily by themselves. The Kadis and Mollas were appointed by the Sublime Porte at Stamboul.

Turkish justice at that time knew no other penalty than money fines, with the exception of all cases which could be accounted "political offences," such as disobedience of a Christian regarding the orders of a Turk, punishable with death, etc. The money fines were not imposed upon the accused individual, but were exacted from the House, family, or community to which the individual belonged—a grim and distorted application of the old Servian legal principle of responsibility and restitution. As an example of this, in the "Danitza," pp. 82–85, Vouk Stephanovich Karadjich recounts: "If a dead body were found in a district, whether the result of murder, accident, or natural death while travelling, all the surrounding villages had to pay the "blood-tax," which was one thousand piasters. The Turkish authorities made no attempt to apprehend the assassin, did not even inquire whether or no death was due to a murder. The assassin had only to live in retirement until the tax was paid; he could then take his accustomed place, not being regarded, in fact, by the Turkish authorities as a wholly unuseful member of society.

The Kadis coming from Constantinople were rarely acquainted with the language of the people,

and therefore even with the best intentions were not able to dispense real justice. The Musselim (chief of police, sheriff, etc.) was a Turkish official nominated by the Pasha, and was generally well versed in the people's tongue. He was the terror of the district. A person cited before the Kadi who failed to appear, even for the smallest offence, had nothing left for him but flight, for if he were caught his life was forfeited. The oppression of the Kadis and Musselims became at times so heavy that the population diminished through flight or threatened emigration *en masse*. Only when that state of things was reached did the Turkish authorities remove a Kadi, and the distraught population, in a momentary hope of betterment, paused before taking the road into the unknown. Nenadovich,[1] in his "Memoari," tells that in his "nahia" of Valyevo, during a very short period of time, eighteen of those Kadis were successively withdrawn in order to arrest the emigration of the people.

Remains of Servian Self-government

Entirely subordinated to this Turkish governmental system, there was allowed to exist a purely Servian administration, the remains of the old Servian organisation, the self-governing village and Zhupa. The Turks, on coming in, completely destroyed the higher circles of administration, but retained the lower formations, imposing themselves and their system, however, upon the lower Servian strata.

[1] Nenadovich was one of the leaders of the insurrections of 1804–15.

They were quick to see the value of local institutions which, being shorn of all authority, could be made the instruments of control over a race which, even in slavery, never called itself conquered.

Every village under Turkish rule continued to elect its own chief men and judges, who in all matters between Serb and Serb judged after the old Servian laws. These judges, however, possessed no executive power—which was vested solely in Turkish hands—and the Servian judge's decision could only hold good in case both parties were completely satisfied. Otherwise the case was taken before the Kadi, a privilege of which the Servians were chary to take advantage.

The village chief, Seoski-Knez, acted as a mediator between the people and the Turkish authorities.

Karadjich and Nenadovich tell that when a Serb was arrested for an offence against Turks, or clashed with the Turkish authorities, the village headman at once went to intercede or negotiate with the Kadi, and was often able, by payment or otherwise, to have the man set free.

Holding the same position in regard to the districts of the nahias which the village headmen, or Seoski-Knez, held in villages were the heads of districts, called then also "zhoupas, or Knezhinas" whose title was "Obor-Knez." They were elected by the people and nominated by the Pasha. They possessed no land, and their only function was to keep order in the districts. They were responsible to the Turkish Pasha, who allowed them a small detachment of "Pandours" (armed police). The Obor-Knez

acted as spokesman for the inhabitants in their relations with the Pasha, and apportioned among the rayah of a district its allotment of taxes. An Obor-Knez of wit and devotion to his people was able to obtain much mitigation of the burdens laid upon them. During the great insurrections of the early nineteenth century the Obor-Knezes were generally the leaders.

3. TURKISH FORMS OF HOLDINGS IN APPROPRIATION OF SERVIAN LANDS

According to the rules laid down in Islam for the settlement of conquered lands, the Serb lands as they were acquired were separated into three main divisions: *First*—Vakouf—Church Property—the landed and other estates of the "pious foundations," the income from which was devoted to the building of mosques, to their charities, and to other Moslem religious and educational purposes. Those funds formed the "Beit-ul-mal" and were under a separate department of administration. *Second*—Allodial lands, subdivided into lands of Islam which paid only tithes to the Sultan, and Kharatch or tribute-lands, paying kharatch tax and an impost varying from one-eighth to one-half of all its proceeds. The allodial lands in conquered Serb territory fell under the category of Haratch land, and was bestowed by the Sultans upon different individuals in the form of "moukade" and "malitchane" estates. *Third*—The largest bulk of conquered territories was reserved as domanial lands, and was separated into:

(1) Miri land, the revenues of which went directly into the State treasury.

(2) Waste lands, not cultivated, always large areas in Turkey.

(3) Private domains of the Sultan.

(4) Escheat, or forfeited lands.

(5) Lands which were appanages of the Sultan's mother and the other members of his family.

(6) Lands of which the revenues were attached to the office of Vizir.

(7) Land the revenues of which were attached to the offices of Pashas of the second rank.

(8) The vast areas of Ziamets and Timars, all spahiluks.

The Timar was an estate of from three hundred to five hundred acres, and the Ziamet an estate of over five hundred acres, both furnishing one man at arms for each three thousand aspers revenue. In the earlier period there existed the higher fiefs or Beyliks.

4. TAXES AND OTHER EXACTIONS

The Spahis, on receiving from the Sultan the land of the conquered Serbs, entered into relationship with the inhabitants at first as landlord with tenant, but under a feudal system instead of under that belonging to the old Servian organisation.

The tenants, instead of giving, as under Servian laws, a few days a year robot-work in total payment to the over-lord for their holdings, paid under the Turkish régime money under various heads: rental, taxes, and other money dues in addition to one-tenth

at least "in kind" of their produce. The Spahis, unlike the Servian lord of a domain, did not live on their estates among the rural inhabitants, but in the towns or fortified villages. So long as all money exactions were met, the rayah, who sank to a state of serfdom under this system, was free to come and go as he would. In the earlier period of Turkish times he might sell or otherwise dispose of his tenure or move from one Spahiluk to another; he had only to see to it that prior to his departure all the necessary moneys and levies in kind due to the Spahi were paid for the year. The Spahis were free from all taxation. They were lords not only of the soil, but of the rayah —the Christians living on it. Holding the land in fief from the Sultan in return for military service, they formed a privileged class in regard to Christian and Turk.

Their relations with the populations were limited to their arrival during harvest time in the villages of their estates to collect the various taxes and tithes. Instead of this personal tour they sometimes sent agents. The Spahis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, called Beys, were, as has been seen, the old Servian-Bosnian nobility, who at the time of the conquest, rather than become Hungarian, had gone over to Mohammedanism, acknowledging the Sultan's rule. The Servians of other Serb lands, more removed from the danger of Hungarian occupation, had with but few exceptions refused to renounce their Christian creed, and were not made Spahis by the Sultan, but either emigrated or fell into the common mass of the despoiled rayah. Over these were sometimes set

Spahis of Bosnian or Herźegovinian origin from the lesser and poorer Serb nobility of those western countries.

In the towns and palankas the Spahis—all Moslem, whether Osmanli or Serb—detachments of Janissaries, and the Turkish officials, all living in idleness on the fruits of the Servian agriculturalist's toil, were surrounded by a hungry Turkish mob of hangers-on, which assembled there from all Ottoman countries. Only a few of those Turks lived by certain handicrafts permitted to them alone and forbidden to Christians.

This separation of the inhabitants into two divisions, Moslems in the towns and Christians in the country, was the beginning of the idea in Serb lands of towns as places of residence. It is also the cause of the Asiatic character, maintained even to-day in Balkan regions in the appearance of towns that have not been rebuilt. The Serb villages, which then began to hide themselves away from the general view in ravines and secluded mountain valleys, have the aspect of western hamlets.

During the active period of conquest under the powerful Sultans, Mohammed II, Selim, and Suleyman, the whole Serb territory was held in a state of military occupation, the obligations of the subjected peoples to their Turkish masters being ill-defined.

The khanouns of Suleyman, inaugurated by his Grand Vizir the Servian Mehemet Sokolovich, reorganising land holdings, and the obligations of the Christian rayah, limited and defined the rentals, taxes, and all services and dues payable to these

Turkish feudal lords. According to these laws the holdings of the Spahis were not real possession, but only a stipend; they did not have dwellings on the estates, but lived in the garrison towns. They could not forcibly eject the tenants or prevent them from moving away to settle elsewhere. After the death of the Serb Vizir who framed these regulations they fell into disuse. The Spahiluks again became hereditary by custom, and the people were not able to limit their obligations. However, the principle had been partially developed that it was necessary for the Moslem feudal lord to be on good terms with his tenants, and their interests being in some particulars identical with his own, the Spahis often took sides with the people as against the over-exactions of Pashas and others who collected taxes from them.

The tax revenues of the Spahi, paid to him by the Christian under the Khanouns of Suleyman, were:

(1) The poll-tax: one piaster for each married person.

(2) "Espendje," or permission from the Spahi to marry: two piasters.

(3) The tax called "kotar"—hedge-tax: two piasters for the right of herds to feed within hedged pastures.

(4) The mill-tax, for the right to grind grain: one piaster per head.

(5) The kettle-tax, per pot-still: two piasters for the distillation of plum-brandy.

(6) The oak-mast-tax: four paras per hog where there were no acorns, and six to ten paras where acorns were plentiful.

(7) "Dessetak," or tax in kind: one-tenth or more of all agricultural produce.

Should the Spahi dwell near his Spahiluk, he required from the inhabitants, in addition to these taxes, manual labour and personal service.

In some instances the Serb communities were able to make an arrangement with the Spahis to pay a yearly fixed sum in lieu of all other taxes and dues. An exceptional tax was levied as hospitality rights to meet the expenses of the yearly visit of the Spahi or his agent for the collection of the taxes. Each priest had to pay to his Spahi two or two and a half piasters a year and present him with a pair of stockings. The monastery paid yearly to the Spahi from ten to twelve piasters, and the village attached to a monastery paid him from two to two and a half piasters per inhabitant.

As no taxes were paid by Moslems, they being soldiers in war time and in time of peace "guardians of the Faith" and order, the whole weight of supplying the revenue, not only to Pashas, Beys, and Spahis, but also for all State expenses, fell upon the Christian rayah.

In addition to the taxes and dues to the Spahis and Pashas, the conquered Servian population had to bear the burdens of provisioning the Turkish army, of the transport of cannon and all other war munitions, of personal manual labour on the construction and repair of roads and fortresses, and of agricultural labour on the Sultan's personal domains and on those of the pious foundations. These services, called the "Koulouk" tax, which was imposed in addition to the

work given to the Spahis, required also that the people should bear all incidental expenses, even when the duty necessitated journeys to regions far remote from the places where they lived. As an instance of this, the inhabitants around Belgrade were obliged to go to Constantinople to cut hay and perform other "Koulouk" labour on the Sultan's lands. The small village of Belgrad on the outskirts of Constantinople was founded by those workers in remembrance of their distant home district.

Among the other taxes which the Christian rayah had to pay to the Sultan, the State, and the province were:

(1) The "Kharadje," for the right to walk on the Sultan's soil, was a poll-tax levied on every male from the seventh year of his age to his death. The Kharadje was estimated by the Defterdars (financial agents) of the Sultan, and varied according to region and circumstance. It was collected by the Christian headman of the village and turned over to the Spahi or to Turkish officials called "Oumen."

(2) The Glavnitza (chief tax) paid by all men come to manhood, was used in provincial administration, and was calculated according to the capacity of the people to pay.[1]

(3) The Tchibouk, a tax on live stock of every kind and on fowls.

(4) A yearly "espendje," a tax for the Sultan in addition to that paid to the Spahi, was a golden ducat collected from every married couple.

[1] Gavrilovitch, *Spomenik*, III, p. 177.

In addition to the yield of these taxes the Sultan derived other income from the provinces. The revenues from customs, tolls, fishing, and other licences were supposed to go to Constantinople, but for the most part paused in the treasury of the Pasha.

The Servian writers of the period, Prota M. Nenadovitch and others, give a picture of the Obor-Knez and the village knez coming to the chief town of the Nahia, each bringing his bill of expenses for the past year, covering the cost of receptions to the Pasha and his agents, public works, payment of pandours, etc. These accounts were audited by old agas and, when approved, received the seal of the Kadi. When the acccounts of all the Nahias in the province were confirmed, they were submitted to the Pasha, who added to them what he demanded for his own expenses. The sum-total to be collected was then divided among the whole number of taxable heads. A statement of that number was required from the head of each village, who, by every imaginable means, sought to save the people as much as possible from the weight of over-exaction. This system developing ruse and trickery, and attacking directly the moral forces of the race, was one of the miseries of the Turkish oppression.

When the total amount of yearly taxes to be collected was fixed by the Pashas and the obligation divided among the Nahias, it was customary for the Servian headmen of all the villages of each Nahia to meet together on an appointed day with two or three

men of each village to hear the reading by the Kadi of the amount of taxes exacted, and afterward to discuss and fix between themselves the equitable distribution of the burden among the villages. So in turn the headman of each village, in the presence of the people, apportioned the tax according to the capacity of individuals to pay. All the poor and ill and crippled presented themselves among the others to be examined as to their ability to bear their part of the tax, and to be declared exempt in case they were found unable to pay.

The most fiery trial which the conquered Servians had to live through was helpless submission to the "Devchurme" tax.

From all the young children—flower of the Serb race—gathered by this fearful tax to Constantinople, the finest creatures were selected and especially trained to enter the Sultan's direct service. From among them were recruited the Turkish dignitaries, the Spahis and Pashas, but the greater part were made into Janissaries. By the middle of the sixteenth century the heart of the Turkish army was composed of Janissaries of Serb blood, their swords turned against their own fathers and mothers. Most of the Turkish officials were also by that time of the Serb race. Not only the great statesman and soldier, Mehemet Sokolovich, but six other Grand Vizirs were children of the "Devchurme" tax. Up to the time of the treaty of Pozharevatz, 1718, a large proportion of the administrative documents at Constantinople were written in the Servian language.

It has been rightly said that if during the period of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Servian people had been willing to abjure their Christian faith, the Ottoman State would be to-day a Servian Empire of Mohammedan faith.

5. CHRISTIAN CLERGY

The clergy formed an intermediate social stratum between the people and the Mohammedans. During the suppression of the Servian Patriarchat, all of the higher clergy were Greek sent from Constantinople, whose affiliations were rather with the Turks than with the Servians. The lower clergy and the Servian monks were from the people, and shared in general the lot of their Servian brothers.

From 1463, the time of the downfall of Servian independence, up to the re-erection of the Servian Patriarchat in 1557 by the Turkish Grand Vizir, the Serb Mehemet Sokolovich, and from the final absorption of that Patriarchat by Constantinople in 1767, all of the bishops for the Servian Eparchiyas were Greek, Phanariot, and obtained those Sees by payment for them in Constantinople of a money price. Their administration differed not at all from that of the Pashas and other Turkish officials in being an exploitation of the Serb population. They dwelt in the towns side by side with the Turks. They had under their order a Turkish guard, and wore swords and other arms.

The Servian clergy, from among the people, were compelled to pay to the Greek bishop for their con-

secration a minimum of one hundred piasters. Scarcely any other qualification was required of them than their ability to pay that and other sums.

The clergy also received contributions from the people. The village priest received fifteen okas of grain per married couple, the oka being about two and one-quarter pounds weight. He was also entitled to two piasters for performing the marriage ceremony and one piaster for the burial service. The village priest in his turn paid to the bishop four piasters as a yearly tax. The bishop further collected twelve piasters for each chimney in his Eparchiya. While travelling he received free hospitality and a payment of five piasters from each village through which he passed on his journey.

The properties possessed by the monasteries under the kingdom and the empire were lost to them under the Turks. Not only through Turkish depredations and destruction, but after the fall of the Serbian patriarch when the Phanariot bishops came in, much of the property of the Servian monasteries was sold or bartered away. By the end of the eighteenth century it was rare that any possessions remained to a monastery.

The monasteries being without funds were kept in repair by the people of the neighbouring villages, who came willingly and without pay to do whatever work was necessary. The one advantage which they secured by those services was the privilege of electing the head of the monastery, the Hegoumen. On account of the dearth of parish priests, the monks often went out to the surrounding villages where

there was no priest to offer the sacraments and perform the parish work.

The main source of income for the monastery during this period was voluntary gifts.[1]

The Servian parish clergy and monks living in the monasteries were continually subject to practical blackmail from the Greek (Phanariot) bishops, who intimidated them under constant threat of interdiction. The Phanariot bishops also had the power to punish by imprisonment and by the lash.

It is not astonishing that during these unhappy periods very few of the Serb clergy, with some brilliant exceptions, were able to read the mass. They had simply learned by rote how to perform the rites of marriage, baptism, burial, and other ceremonies. Their lives were miserable. In addition to the unlimited exactions of the Greek bishops, they were obliged to pay taxes to the Spahis.[2]

The monks were in somewhat better circumstances than were the parish priests. Living in the monasteries, they were able to study, and were less exposed to the miseries suffered by the priests who had to live among the people, and therefore came in daily contact with the Turks.

The day of the patron saint of the monastery was made a time of great festivity. People came

[1] Nenadovitch, in his "Memoari," says: "In those times there existed no higher position [for Servians] than to be village knez or headman, a popa [parish priest], or a kalugjer [monk]. The pandour or village guard was also an envied position!"

[2] In contrast with this woful picture was the enlightened condition of the Servian clergy, both high and low, during the period, about two hundred years of the existence of the Serb Patriarchat, from the date of its re-erection by Mehemet Sokolovich to 1767.

from far and near, the occasion combining the characteristics of a fair with those of a popular national meeting.

There met the headmen of distant villages and clans. There was dancing, feasting, and various other forms of entertainment. These convocations in honour of a saint—the only opportunity left to the Serbs of gathering together—were called Sabors, after the name of the ancient Assembly. Under cover of these occasions of enjoyment, the Servians discussed more serious matters, holding thus furtively, and without Turkish interference or knowledge, an assembly for political purposes, which they called "Skupshtina," a term which survives to-day as the name of the Servian parliament. To these saints' festivals or Sabors—a word also at present in use applied to church meetings—came the Gouzlars, singing the old national songs. There many an insurrection was planned and means of common action discussed. These meetings, the one outlet of national feeling, made of the monasteries dearly cherished centres of hope. To them turned the hearts utterly bereft of comfort. There glowed ever bright the holy central fire of the home hearth, gathering sweet and glorious memories of the past and visions of a future when the Turks would be driven from the land and once more Serb homes would be set in blossoming gardens amidst purple plum-trees and their central hearths new lighted from the sacred fire —"when sorrow and sighing should flee away."

6. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE "BERAT BASHI-KNEZES," AND THEIR TERRITORIES

In the Ottoman scheme of conquest and military occupation it was the policy of the sultans to leave almost intact certain districts as small semi-independent principalities, under their national Christian counts or princes, taking from them in lieu of all other levies a fixed yearly tribute. Being isolated and crippled of all power of successful revolt—at the same time their complete subjection offering prospect of a troublesome resistance that would halt the march of invasion—it was found wise to leave these Servian chiefs in undisturbed possession of their lands and to make no effort to destroy their self-administrative systems.

When the western Serb confines should be reached, it would then be time to consider the best means of grinding these stumbling-stones into the general dust.

At first there were a considerable number of these tributary autonomous regions. Some of them extended over several nahias. The dignity of their hereditary chief as count or even prince was recognised by the Sultan, who claimed only as suzerain a fixed tribute and the right to invest them in office, which was done by special "Berat." They were called by the title of "Bashi-Knez," and no armed Turk might enter their borders. Such were the Stari-Vlah lands, lying at present partly in modern Servia and partly in the Sandjak of Novi-Bazar; the

lands of the Vassoyevich clan, part of present Montenegro and part of the Sandjak of Novi-Bazar; Popovopoyle in Herzegovina; Cerni Gori now in modern Servia, and many others.

Bound in the iron network of conquest, these semi-independent districts were in later times one by one closed in upon. Many of them disappeared with the great Servian insurrection of 1595, called St. Sava's insurrection, which for a brief moment caused the Turkish dominion to stagger, freeing all Serb lands as far as Sofia.

The war between Austria and Turkey in 1689 destroyed almost the last vestiges of these oases of Servian independence,

Hoping in Austrian promises of help to free the Serb lands, the people, headed by their Bashi-Knezes, rose again in insurrection as the Austrian army advanced. The Austrian promises proved delusive. The inhabitants were left to the fury of the Turks, who were then in a position to make an end of the Bashi-Knez fiefs.[1] Nearly all were swept out of existence with sword and flame, and their chiefs punished with barbaric revenge. Eighty thousand Servian families, guided by Patriarch Arsen III, fled into Austria,[2] there to find an even deeper misery than any they had ever before known.

[1] The Servian Vassoyevich clan was still under a Bashi-Knez by Sultan's Berat well into the nineteenth century, when the last Prince Vassoyevich, driven out by the Turks, died as a British Consul at Serajevo. The Miridites, one of the old Albanian self-governing clans, was mentioned as still existing by the Treaty of Berlin. The Greek general, Vassos, who won distinction in the Turko-Greek war of 1897, is descended from this princely family Vassoyevich.

[2] See illustration 586.

Besides these special privileged feudal principalities in Serb lands, there were a number of individual Christians who, for special services of different kinds, were exempt from taxation and other oppressive conditions. They were: (1) The "Shahidjias," who kept the falcons and hunting-dogs of the Sultan and the Pashas; they were under special protection of the Sultan, paid no taxes, and had the right to carry arms. (2) The "Martolosi" (Borderers) who were Christian soldiers on the Turkish borders and in some other parts of the country. They were paid and were exempt from taxation. (3) A few Christians permanently employed in the care of the Sultan's horses, care of war material, transport for the armies, etc. They also were exempt from taxation.

7. HAYDOUKS AND OUSKOKS

The heavy situation of the Serbs made of them the "blood enemy" of their Turkish conquerors, and they stood always ready to rise up into fight against them "for life or death." The best and most heroic of the race, unwilling to submit to such violence and oppression, withdrew high up into the mountain fastnesses and became Haydouk and Ouskok.

The mountain forests and high plateaus were the meeting-places of the Haydouks; the neighbouring Venetian Dalmatia and the Austrian Croatia became the rallying-points for the Ouskoks.

There were Haydouks throughout all the Serb countries. They were looked upon as "avengers of

Kossovo" and "protectors of the people"; seeing that Christians had no hope of help anywhere, they carried on a perpetual and unequal warfare against the strong Turkish Empire.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Haydoukdom was at its highest flower. At that time there were so many Haydouks throughout the Serb lands of the Balkan Peninsula fighting against Turks and all other oppressors of the Christian inhabitants that the Turks could find no security on the high-roads or even in their own homes. The Haydouks lived in groups in the mountain forests, and when even two of them were together one was nominated the chief, or "Haram-basha." Generally they formed into large bands, and sometimes such bands numbered as high as a thousand men. But as it was difficult for any length of time to feed such a large company, they separated most often into smaller groups which operated independently on ordinary occasions, but joined forces for important action. Attached to the service of each Haydouk was a "Yatack," a dweller in the lowlands, with whom the Haydouk was accustomed to find refuge during the snowy months. During the rest of the year, when the Haydouk found it possible to take up his life in the high hills, his Yatack brought him food and replenished his supplies of ammunition and carried him news and information of what went on among the enemy, and performed other services of devotion to the Haydouk and the general cause. The Haydouk, while he was obliged to remain with the Yatack in the winter, became for the time being

a shepherd and herder of the cattle or other live stock of the Yatack.

A number of Haydouks, instead of going to the Yatack in the winter-time, simply crossed the border into Venetian Dalmatia or Austrian Croatia. They were the Ouskoks, from the word "ouskotchiti," "crossing over," or the "escapers." When the snows began to melt on the Serb mountains the Haydouks and Ouskoks returned to their heights and reorganised their groups for ready action. If one of them were missing, having been killed in the interim, it was considered the first duty of the band to avenge the death, which was generally fulfilled in the most savage and barbarous form. This warfare of the Haydouks against the Turks prevented the Serbs from ever submitting to subjection and kept up the moral force of the nation. It maintained among the whole Serb people an unceasing state of movement and ferment.

The name of "Serb" became in the mind of the Turk synonymous with the word "unconquerable," and to-day even, the Turkish word for liberty is "serbeshty," a derivative, it is said, of "Serb." That continual agitation never ceased until the freeing of modern Servia.

About the Haydouks and Ouskoks, whose life was to give their lives for the people, the Serbs have in their ballads and songs woven a garland of evergreen sweet memory. As long as the Servian name endures the remembrance of these men will not perish.

8. DOWNFALL OF THE JANISSARIES—SERVIAN INDEPENDENCE

In the beginning of the seventeenth century the "Devchurme" tax was abolished—no more Serb boys were carried off to Constantinople. From that moment new forces surged up in the Servian race—reinforced with its own best blood. The loss to Constantinople was proportionately great. Wellsprings of power began to run dry. Within a generation the dearth was felt in all departments of administration and control. Then began a period of weakness and decay. The Janissaries, enrolled from volunteers under relaxed rules, degenerated from their ancient force and character as a fine and well-disciplined military order, and by the second half of the eighteenth century they had come to be recruited from the human refuse, the spoiled lives, the desperados of all Europe and Asia. Unamenable to control, they began to play the part of Roman pretorians. The Sultan dispersed them in small commands throughout the empire as guards of fortified towns, placing them under the orders of the pashas of Vilayets and Livas.

The Janissaries carried their unruliness with them, and before long tried to enforce their own will upon the pasha instead of receiving orders from him. On account of the power of their organisation they were able to act in concert, making demands through their comrades in Constantinople. The pashas found themselves unable to resist them, and were finally

forced to bend under the yoke of the Janissaries, who began to rule the provinces. Their agas and commanders took the title "Dahi," probably from "Dey," Dey being the title of the princes of the Barbary States of North Africa. The Janissaries had first advised, then exacted; then they began actively to interfere in the administration of justice and in the private affairs of individuals. They came into bitter conflict with the Spahis, whom they hated for their privilege of holding land. So it chanced that the first Serb uprisings of the last century against the arrogance and violence of the Janissaries were supported by the Moslem Spahis.

Karadjich and Nenadovich describe vividly how the Janissaries seized the land. A Janissary Aga with some few followers of his own kind entered a village to which he took a fancy, declared himself its owner, terrified the unarmed inhabitants into submission, fortified himself in a tower—with generally another watch-tower on the opposite side of the village—joined the houses by a wall, so forming palisades or an enclosure, and proceeded to crush the entire population into serfdom. These formations were called "Tchifliks," the usurping Janissaries calling themselves "Tchiflik-Sahibis."

Since then many of those Tchifliks have been formed and exist to-day throughout Macedonia. Within the last thirty years disordered conditions have allowed such Tchifliks to be created on the same plan in north-western Macedonia by marauding Albanians.

The Tchifliks and the domination in other ways of the Janissaries, whose ranks held the robbers of all nations and whatever human dregs could be got together, brought about a state of affairs so unendurable that the Servian population of that territory, forming to-day the kingdom of Servia, found strength to rise in 1804, "armed with despair," in the heroic revolt in which they finally won their freedom.

The attempts of the sultans to recall the Janissaries to order and discipline only aroused them to greater fury. They revolted and deposed sultan after sultan—after Sultan Selim III, Mustapha, bringing in Mahmoud II.

The entire Turkish dominions were in movement with rebellion and insurrection. In Albania, Ali Pasha of Yanina strove for independence; Montenegro was extending its borders; at Vidin, Pasvan Oglou, a Bosnian Serb Spahi, was attempting, sword in hand, to carve for himself a principality out of north-western Bulgaria; in Egypt the Albanian, Mehemet Ali, was fighting to clear away the old Turkish system and lay the basis of a new empire; in the Hedjaz, in Arabia, the sect of the Wahabits, were in arms against Constantinople; "in the Pashalik of Belgrade" was the great Serb uprising. This general breaking up of order throughout the Turkish realm opened at last the door of destiny to the Serb people—the "door that is open and none can shut it."

CHAPTER VIII

THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS

1. TURKISH ATTEMPTS AT REFORM

MAHMOUD II, with swift and savage methods, swept the Janissaries out of existence, and suppressed the entire ancient military system. His successor, Abdul Medjid, in 1839, went even further, and with the chart of Gulhane and Tanzimat abolished the old form of provincial administration, which was replaced by an organisation copied from Western Europe.

During those periods of change the old Spahiluks were transformed into Tchifliks, reducing the inhabitants to still lower levels of serfdom. The Tanzimat, instead of bettering the conditions of the Christian populations, as was its supposed intention, forced them into deeper misery. The old system with all its woes still offered one loophole from the worst, and that was the collection of the taxes by the Servian headmen. That custom had been carefully manipulated through the centuries by the Servians until it was made the means of preventing at least complete degradation and race extinction. With the Tanzimat, bringing a whole hierarchy of tax-collecting agents with boards of estimation and administration from without, the people were robbed

of their last means of defence against the greed, cruelty, and rapine of the Turkish owners of the soil and the officials.

David Urquart vividly portrays these conditions, and in his reports to his government he urged the value of that feature of the old system which made it possible for the Servian headmen to themselves collect the taxes, and strongly advised its reinstatement.

However, every fibre of administration had become infected with corruption and with destructive oppression. The numbers of those whom the Christians had been accustomed to nurture with their life forces were replaced with swarms of officials and ruthless agents bent on draining the people to the uttermost. Nothing practical was ever accomplished to stay the ravages of misrule. The literature of the Macedonian Question has made the world familiar with its results.

In 1856 the Sultan, as the outcome of the Paris Congress, proclaimed a new charter of reforms, the "Hatti-Houmayoun," which was to provide for the administrative and financial reorganisation of the empire.

In 1876 Abdul Hamid proclaimed a constitution for Turkey with Parliament and responsible ministers, complete equality in the State for Christians and Moslems, alike, etc. That equality had been promised by the Gulhane charter and the Hatti-Houmayoun, but the people remained only the unhappy victims of these and many other so-called reforms edifying in expression and phraseology, unworkable in practice.

In 1908 the Young Turkish revolution established

View of Belgrade from the railway bridge

a constitution, and the proclamation by the new régime of equal liberty and rights to all races, tongues, and creeds in Ottoman lands, with the avowed intention of obliterating the effects of the administrative catastrophies of past Turkish rule, and of harmonising the elements of these old superposed systems, has called forth expressions of goodwill from all Christendom.

This succession of attempts at reforms and all of those general proclamations of equal liberties and rights, constitutions, etc., expressive of general principles dear to Europe as embodying an accepted panacea, failed in Turkey, because they ignored the real evils which oppressed and still oppress the population. Those evils are: *first*, the forms of rural landholding and the agrarian conditions in general which made and still make of the Christian agriculturalist the bonded serf of Moslem landlords, and *second*, the fiscal system with its forms of taxation and methods of perception.

All proclamations of liberty, equality, etc., by the Turkish Government can only share the failure of the former attempts, unless they result in the practical solving of these root-questions which call for the abolition of serfdom in freeing the peasant landholdings and a thorough reform of the fiscal system.

2. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA AN AUSTRIAN PROVINCE

In 1878 Bosnia-Herzegovina was occupied by Austria, who has since then changed nothing in so far as the agrarian conditions and the amounts and

form of taxation are concerned, except that the agriculturalist is no longer allowed to pay taxes "in kind," although the basis of taxation is in kind, but must pay in cash the amounts fixed by the government agents.[1]

3. SOVEREIGN PRINCIPALITY OF MONTENEGRO

The inaccessible heights of Tzernagora and the Brdas, formerly part of Zeta, which together make up at present the principality of Montenegro, were able to hold their own against the Turks and always maintained their independence, even throughout the period of the Turkish occupation in other Serb lands. They preserved, up to the present century, the ancient traditional laws and custom concerning justice and other matters within the frame of the old Servian self-governing Zhupa and village organisation.

During the whole period of Turkish domination, those Zhupas or Clans formed a federation which,

[1] The agent arrives during harvest to estimate the yield of the crops, and collects from the farmer at a rate which had at an earlier date been fixed by the authorities as the rate to be that year collected for the produce. That rate may be far in excess of the price which the farmer could get in the market at the time of paying his taxes.

These conditions give rise to numerous tales like the following: An Austrian says to a Bosnian whom he meets in the road, "How different things are now from what they were under the Turks! Then if a Turk met you in the road riding on your donkey, you had to pull your beast aside, dismount, and wait for him to go by. Times are changed since then."

"Yes," answers the Serb, "much changed! Now I don't dismount; now I have no donkey."

Or this:

The Austrian Governor riding one day through the woods saw an old woman gathering sticks: "Ah, how much happier you are now than you were under the Turks!" he said. "There are no more robbers in the woods now."

"No," replies the old woman, "no more robbers in the woods. They've all joined the tax-collectors and the military police."

in regard to common interior or foreign affairs, was directed by an assembly of the heads of the Clans and Zhupas. The chairman or president of that assembly was the Bishop of Zeta residing at the monastery at Cettinye. The assembly nominated and elected as their executive chief an official called "the Goubernador." This régime persisted until the middle of the nineteenth century when the Bishop, Danilo, by a *coup d'état*, secularised himself and proclaimed himself Prince and Autocrat of Montenegro and as such was recognised by the European Powers.

Although the territory was able to keep itself free from the Turks the institutions of civilisation and culture which in early mediæval times had reached a high point of attainment in Zeta suffered and by degrees disappeared under the continual and desperate strain of effort required in the defence of the country during five hundred years.

Since 1880 Montenegro has had peace from Turkish attack and has been slowly advancing toward cultural development.

4. INDEPENDENT PRINCIPALITY—MODERN KINGDOM OF SERVIA

In 1804–15 Servia fought her successful wars for liberty. The State has since then developed at a rapid rate a civilisation along modern and progressive lines, bringing from the great past of the race, in the experience of co-operation and in other economic and social conceptions, a contribution of perhaps no mean value to the problems which to-day occupy general human attention.

CHAPTER IX

RELIGION AND EDUCATION

THE Servian Orthodox Church is the same, as regards dogma, as the Russian, the Bulgarian, Roumanian, and the Greek Church; all of these churches, administratively considered and taken together, form in creed and dogma the body known as the Christian Orthodox Church. The guardian of its faith and creed is the Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, who, however, is administrative head of the Orthodox Church within the boundaries of the Turkish Empire only.

Each one of the national churches—Servian, Russian, Roumanian, Greek, and Bulgarian—is entirely independent administratively and is autocephalous within the limits of its country's territory.

The Servian Church to-day is separated into several independent bodies—that is, one for every Serb land: Orthodox Servian; Montenegrin; Bosnia-Herzegovinian; the Servian Patriarchat at Karlovitz for Southern Hungary, Croatia-Slavonia; the Dalmatian; and the Servian Archbishopric for Old Servia at Uskub in Turkey-Macedonia.

The Servian Orthodox Church was never a "State Church" in the sense in which the Roman Catholic Church was the French State Church. But the Servian Church has always been national, as being

to the whole people of all ranks a guardian of national hopes and the accepted formulation of spiritual belief and worship.

The Code Doushan shows that under the common law the Servian Church was bound to pay duties of no light nature for every privilege enjoyed as a department of public administration. Its power was always "delegated" and held in trust. The priesthood could not arrogate authority to themselves in matters temporal. Nor was the priest ever an object of superstitious awe or fear to the Servians.

Upon the fall of the Empire and the demolition of the State by the Turks, the Church gathered together the shattered fragments and became the sole depositary of national existence, nationality during the Turkish period becoming identified with the Church.

Many of the Serbs and other Slavs who, as has been seen, had slowly filtered back from Volgan and northern regions during early centuries, to become subjects of Byzance in the Balkan lands, could have heard the exhortations of St. Paul and others of Christ's early disciples who brought His teaching to the Balkan Peninsula immediately after His ascension. Many, no doubt, became members of the early Christian Church societies founded by St. Paul himself.

The spiritual conceptions of the Serbs of the great migration, when they arrived in those lands in the seventh century, appeared to derive from the philosophy of the Zend Avesta and also bore resemblance

to the mythological symbolism of traditions that even then were ancient in Greece.[1]

The Servians were not slow to recognise in Christianity something they desired and took as their own. The tenets of Christ embodied many of their most cherished racial ideals and beliefs, pre-eminently those of brotherly love, the co-operative principle, and immortality.

Christian Slavs had begun early to go about teaching the new faith. It has been strongly claimed that the old monastery of St. George in the Servian Banat of Temesh, which is still at the present hour a living altar of Serb Orthodox Christianity, dates from the eighth century. Whatever the early impulses and attempts may have been, the universal acclamation of Christianity by the Servians as a nation, and their adoption of it under the See of Constantinople, has been a matter of clear history since about 860, when the two "noble Slavonic disciples," as they are called, the brothers Cyril and Method, put the New Testament and other scriptures into the Slavonic tongue and travelled throughout the whole near East teaching Christ.

They were the sons of the governor of Salonika. Method had, for a time, been the administrator of the Servian clans on the river Strouma, and he and his brother had begun by making Christians of those people and the inhabitants of the region of the Vardar River.

[1] The goddess Semele echoes the Serb "Zemlyia" (earth), enshrined in the songs of all Slavonic lands.

Closely associated with the story of Cyril and Method was a decisive page in political history—one that thrilled through with the passionate desire of conquest and domination, on one side, and on the other the equally stirring and determined effort of self-defence of a race.

In the contest for supremacy between the Pope of Rome and the Roman Emperor at Constantinople, the Pope's master move was the creation of the Western, or "Holy Roman Empire," by crowning Charlemagne Emperor at Rome, expecting to find in this newly erected pretension to world sovereignty an imperial weapon against the Emperor in Byzance.

In the movements of expansion of Charlemagne's successors eastward of the Elbe River, then lands of Slavonic populations, the Roman Catholic missioners became the forerunners of Germanic and Frankish invasions.

Romanisation meant the advent of a foreign conqueror. This national danger, which pressed against the Slavonic populations of the Moravian empire—then extending over Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, and what is now Germany east of the Elbe River—was well understood by the Moravian ruler Ratislav, and was soon perceived by the Servians under the rule of the Grand-Zhupan Moutimir in Rashka.

The Moravian ruler Ratislav (846–70), through his ambassador at Constantinople, petitioned the Byzantine Emperor Michael III to send him priests and missionaries who could teach his people in their own language (Slavonic).

The Emperor in response to that request chose the two brothers Cyril and Method.[1]

The Servian Grand-Zhupan Moutimir established Christianity under the jurisdiction of Constantinople as the religion of his State, erecting a bishopric at his capital of "Ras," now called Novi-Bazar. The small Servian States accepted the same faith. Throughout the Serb lands a simple form of Christianity existed which had been handed down from the early Church societies founded by Saint Paul, Titus, and other disciples. These forms were most firmly rooted in the Neretva.

The apprehensions of the Moravian and Servian rulers have since been justified in Slavonic history.

It is a remarkable fact that no Slavonic nation which embraced Roman Catholicism has ever been able to maintain its independence. They have ever found in the policy of the Holy See at Rome and in its instruments the clergy the influences most destructive to their spirit of national character and independence. This fact is made evident in the history of the Slovenes in southern Austria, the history of the Kingdom of Croatia,[2] the history of Bohemia, Mo-

[1] In Moravia Cyril and Method came into sharp conflict with Roman missionaries who contrived to take them to Rome, where Cyril died in February, 869. Method returned to Moravia, where he was hunted by the Roman Catholics, and was unable personally to complete his mission. He died in 885. His disciples, driven away from their country by the Pope's forces, went southward to Servia and Bulgaria.

[2] Cyril and Method had converted Croatia to Christianity. A church council under the direction of Rome, held at Spalato in 1059, decided that all church books, mass, and other prayers and ceremonials in the churches in Slavonic lands should be changed from the Slavonic to the Latin tongue. At the same council the Croatian ruler accepted the jurisdiction of the See of Rome personally and for the country. That decision met so strong a resistance from the people that they were brought to submission only

ravia, Silesia, the complete Germanisation of the Slavonic populations east of the Elbe, of the Slovacs in Hungary, and in the history of Poland.

On the other hand all Slavonic States of Orthodox faith have been able up to the present time to retain their independence or to regain it when lost, the cause being that the Eastern Church has always identified itself in all lands with the national spirit which it has cherished and inspired. The living proof of this is seen in the history of Russia, Servia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria.

1. ERECTION OF THE INDEPENDENT NATIONAL SERVIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

Although the Serb peoples had early accepted Christianity, the contest between Rome and Constantinople for supreme jurisdiction over all Christians brought about continual changes of Church administration and confusion in the public mind concerning what the true faith really was—when Rome was uppermost the Constantinople Patriarch was anathematised, and *vice versa* when Constantinople was for the moment victorious. These wranglings resulted in general scepticism and indifference to religion; of the religiously inclined, the more conservative elements

in the twelfth century, the period coinciding with the complete loss of Croatian political independence.

A curious fact that occurred under the papal rule of Leo XIII is worth noting. With the re-establishment of Croatian autonomy (for interior affairs only), an agitation took place supporting a general demand that the mass and the ritual in the Roman Catholic churches of Croatia should be read in the Paleo-Slovene language, which is the sacred language of the Slavonic churches. The pressure was so great that Leo XIII granted to those communities the privilege of choosing either the Latin or Paleo-Slovene tongue.

among the inhabitants returned to their ancient pagan rites, and the ranks of the primitive Paulician Churches became reinforced by the "moderns" of that time. When the idea was finally adopted by the Papal Curia that the Slavonic spirit of democracy and independence was a danger to Roman Catholicism, and pursuant to that theory the Council of Spalato in 1059 abolished the use of the Slavonic tongue in the rituals and introduced the principle of placing Bishops of foreign birth and allegiance over the Churches in Slavonic lands, the Slavonic people for the first time saw clearly on which side their fight lay, and the population in large masses went into the Churches under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and other large numbers entered the new Bogomil sect, which was entirely free from ecclesiastical authority.

In about the beginning of the thirteenth century there began to be distinctly formulated that understanding and alliance between the Popes of Rome and the Kings of Hungary for united efforts toward the subjugation of the Servian countries (the Pope to obtain their Catholicisation, the Hungarian King to conquer their territories), which has endured and kept strife in those lands during the centuries up to the present time, and which combination of forces found at last the apparent culmination of its hopes in regard to Bosnia, in the last crisis resulting in the annexation by Austria-Hungary of Bosnia-Herzegovina.[1]

[1] One of the documents produced during the Berlin Congress by Count Andrassy (Austro-Hungarian delegate), upon which was based the Austro-Hungarian claim to be given by Europe the mandate to occupy Bosnia-Herzegovina, was a letter (of that period, about 1878) written by the

This Papal-Hungarian combination was a menace augmented by the newly formed Latin Empire at Constantinople, and the Servian Grand-Zhupan Stephan in 1216 found it wise to recognise the jurisdiction of Rome, for which wisdom the Pope rewarded him with a Royal Crown. A papal Legate began in 1217 to organise the Church of Servia under Rome.

That policy of Stephan's met with hostility from the Servians, and the general expression of dissatisfaction, headed by the Sovereign's brother Sava, became so threatening to public peace and even to the position of the Ruler himself, that Stephan came to an agreement with Sava for the reconsideration of the question and the re-establishment of the Orthodox Christian Faith, which upon Sava's advice was to be independent administratively, of the Œcumenical Patriarch at Constantinople and separate from the Archbishopric of Ochrida.

Sava, afterward called Saint Sava, then went as the Servian ruler's ambassador in the interest of the Servian Church to Nicea, in Asia Minor, to negotiate with the Byzantine Emperor Lascaris and the Œcumenical Patriarch.

All conditions were propitious. The Despot of Epirus and the Archbishop of Ochrida, representing the authority in Europe of the Byzantine Emperor and Patriarch, were quarrelling. Sava, profiting thereby, and urging the value of Servian aid to a re-

Roman Catholic Bishop of Bosnia, born an Austrian subject, purporting to be a general demand of the Bosnian populations to be annexed to Austria-Hungary.

conquest of Constantinople, was able to obtain from Lascaris and the Patriarch recognition of an independent Servian Church, and himself was consecrated Archbishop of that Church by the Patriarch.

In 1219 the Servian Autocephalous Church was created; its first Head, Archbishop Sava, on his return to Servia (Rashka) organised that Church through and through. He created eight bishoprics, and took up his residence at Zhitcha, where his brother had just completed a church and monastery, which remained the seat of the Arch-Episcopal See of the Servian Church up to the time when it was transformed into a Patriarchat, with seat at Ipek.

There in the new church at Zhitcha[1] Archbishop Sava crowned his brother king on Ascension Day, 1220.

This Stephan Nemanyich is always referred to as the "first-crowned," not because there were no kings of Servian race over Serb lands before him—there were several—but because he was the first to be crowned by the archbishop of an independent and national Servian Church.

The bishoprics founded by Saint Sava were:

(1) The Eparchiya (bishopric) of Zeta, seated at the monastery of Archangel Michael on the Prevlatzi; this seat was later on removed to the monastery at Cettinye, and became subsequently the autocephalous Bishopric of Montenegro; (2) The Eparchiya of Houm, with seat at the monastery of Sveta Bogoroditza (Holy Mother of God); (3) Eparchiya of Dabor at

[1] All Servian kings have since that day been crowned at the Zhitcha church.

the monastery of Saint Nicolas at Banya, on the lower Lim; (4) Eparchiya of the Moravitza at the monastery of Saint Archilia, to-day called Arilye; (5) Eparchiya of Toplitza, seated at the monastery of Saint Nicolas at Bela Cerkva, to-day called Kourshumlya; (6) Eparchiya of Boudimlya, seated at the monastery of Saint George "Gjourgjovi Stoubovi" near Beran; (7) Eparchiya of Hvosna at the monastery of the Holy Mother of God at Pech (Ipek), which afterward became the See of the Servian Patriarch; (8) Eparchiya of Ras in Rashka, where it had existed before the time of Saint Sava, and was renewed by him.

Saint Sava brought the bishops which he placed over these Bishoprics from the Servian monastery of Hilendar on Mount Athos.[1]

He unified and revised the Church service, expurgated and brought into uniformity the Church books, and organised the Church with the genius of a Statesman as well as of a Churchman, creating out of it so powerful a national institution that it became identified with the Servian race and was able to survive the early struggles of the Servian State as well as the time of its proud prosperity under the Empire.

[1] Mount Athos, on an arm of the Kalkidike south of Salonika, has, since the Christian dawn, been the residence of hermits and monks of the Orthodox faith. It is also called the Holy Mountain. There all of the Orthodox lands, Russian, Greek, Bulgarian, Roumanian, and Servian, have at one time or another founded and maintained monasteries, the sanctuaries of prayer and the seats of learning.

That most easterly prong of the triple peninsula, the southern point of which is Mount Athos, is the one crossed by the famous canal made by Xerxes. The entire length of the consecrated promontory has been recognised by the Turkish Government as the property of the monks and a self-governing territory, possessing its own seaport with several small commercial steamers, trafficking for their upkeep in olives and other prod-

During the dark Turkish period the Servian Church as constructed by Saint Sava was the Servian people's defender and their teacher, the guardian of their national hope and faith in a better future. To-day that Church is still the chief pillar of Servian nationality.

The few Roman Catholics in Servia had also their bishops and parish priests under the authority of the Roman Catholic Archbishop, whose See was at Bar (Antivari).

To counteract the proselytising activity of the Roman clergy, the Orthodox Servian Church established priests called protopopas, whose duty it was to prevent that propaganda from becoming oppressive to the people.

2. BOGOMIL FAITH

In the twelfth century there arose in Servian Christendom the sect of the "Bogomils," considered a heresy by both Orthodox and Roman Catholic forms of faith.

A Slavonic priest named Bogomil (God-lover), first began to preach in Thracia and Macedonia the doctrine called by his followers after his name.

ucts of the country. These boats are manned and commanded by monks picturesque in their monkish garb.

No woman is allowed to land or come within the confines of this little realm, and even no male stranger may do so without express permission.

On the site of the present Hilendar a monastery had existed from the earliest Christian times but had fallen to ruins by 1196. In that year Stephan Nemanya received the site as a gift from the Byzantine Emperor, Alexis, and built there the Servian monastery, which was added to and completed to form the present beautiful pile of Hilendar by subsequent Servian rulers, several of whom, like Stephan Nemanya himself, abdicating in favour of their heirs, retired there to end their days in study and divine contemplation.

Bogomilism, which spread through Servia, finding its definitive retreat in Bosnia—where it played an important part during centuries in the political history of the land, its adherents finally, in the Turkish period, becoming Moslems—possesses for students a "live" interest even at the present time, in that it embodied the first remote beginnings of the tendency to a simplified creed and a reaction against ecclesiasticism, whose spirit, penetrating to France in the Albigenses, and to England, reappearing with Wycliff, and back again to Slavonic Bohemia with Huss and the Moravian Brethren, swelled at last to the full tide of the Reformation and Protestantism with Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli.

It has been said that the first theories of the Bogomils have been traced to a spurious book entitled "The Questions of the Theologian John to Christ on Mount Tabor."

There exists a fourteenth-century manuscript of this book which was especially treasured by both Bogomils and Albigenses. A complete Latin text of it was published in Paris in 1691 by the Dominican Benoist in his history of the Albigenses. That text is fuller than the one in the old Slavonic.

The teaching founded on the dualism of good and evil is supposed to be borrowed from the Manicheans. The mythical story was that the earth was not created by God but by Satanael, after his fall known as Satan. He created the earth during a seven days' period of power given to him by God, formed a man's body and forced

into it an angel from the third heaven; then a female form into which he ordered an angel of the second heaven.

The deeds recorded in the Old Testament were supposed to be the work of the evil one in the guise of God, dominating humanity until Christ came to set men free.

"The whole visible world is the work of Satan —for from God can emanate nothing imperfect." Just above this visible world is the invisible perfect one. God is fighting to reinstate mankind in the invisible perfect world.

The Bogomils thought that Christ was a spiritual appearance and Mary an angel. They rejected the Old Testament, baptism, the cross as a symbol, saying: "Why honour that wherewith God was dishonoured?" They rejected the use of all pictures or images of saints, the adoration of Mary, all priests, ceremonies, or ecclesiastical hierarchies. They took Holy Communion, but not as a sacrament, only "in memoriam." They admitted no church bells or any decoration, only a white table with the Gospels lying on it. Matter was evil, therefore they were sternly ascetic, ate only vegetables, condemned an organised State, war, marriage, and the propagation of the race. A brother, son of the same father, was a "brother-in-sin," "sister-in-sin," "father" or "mother in sin." If they took a wife ("accepted to live in sin") they were free to give her up should she prove not sufficiently God-fearing. The term "brother" could only be applied in purity to the fellow-man.

They forbade obedience to rulers or that of servants to their masters. They were opposed to all constructive principle in social, civic, or political life. They were, in fact, saintly anarchists and nihilists. They were, as individuals, pure, honourable, and truth-telling, but so long as they undertook to follow their tenets rigorously to the letter, they formed a disintegrating element of terrific force and became a menace to the State.[1]

Stephan Nemanya, alarmed at the spread of their pernicious doctrines, called together in Rashka the States Assembly, convoking the heads of the churches, the nobility, and other representatives of the clans and the people.

It was of vital importance that no disrupting influence should exist in the Servian State, which was but just beginning to succeed in overcoming the separatist tendencies of sectional over-independence, and to form itself into a united and strong Servia. The assembly passed, after long and heated debates, a decision to make an end of Bogomilism. That decision was put into strict and stern execution by Nemanya. Most of the Bogomils of Rashka took flight into Bosnia, where Ban Koulin, the Ruler, was favourably disposed toward their sect.

The Bogomils in Bosnia, where they gathered as a result of being hunted out of Rashka, Bulgaria,

[1] The extreme mysticism of their faith appealed to that capacity for exaggerated idealism which so strongly marks the Slavonic soul and is apt to annul the power of sound reason at that point where the "idea-alone" in supreme exaltation leaves its rightful realm of the contemplative and forcibly attempts to enter that of the practical. Thus could nihilism find easy propagation in Russia, as do similar fallacies appealing to the divine in man like the "Doukhobortzi" (soul-fighters), who, having been

and Croatia, abated the severity of their rules of conduct enough to comply with the State's administrative laws and regulations and the demands of practical life. There also they were the object of unremitting attacks from the Hungarians, who again and again, under pretext of orders of the Pope at Rome to exterminate the Bogomils, invaded Bosnia, and never ceased through the centuries to wage bloody war against its inhabitants.

As soon as the Bogomils had ranged themselves under law and order, renouncing that part of their creed which was destructive to organised society, the Servian rulers showed them tolerance. Their form of faith was adopted by a number of the nobility in Bosnia as well as by many of the people in general, and a succession of Bogomil rulers stood stanchly in defence of creed and nation throughout all the Pope's Bosnian wars up to the time of the Turkish conquest. Then, rather than capitulate to Catholic Hungarian domination, they went over in a body to Mohammedanism. Especially was this true of the nobles who, as Moslems, were allowed to retain their domains.

As "Paulicians," some Bogomils went in early centuries to north Italy and thence to England, where Henry II had them branded with red-hot irons.

The Emperor Stephan Doushan protected the

suppressed by the Russian Government as destructive to society, are now so much of a problem in Canada, their land of refuge.

These extreme conceptions are related to those of the Hindu who, when shown through a magnifying-glass that air and water are full of living germs, had his nose stuffed with wax and his mouth sealed that he might "never more breathe the air or drink water to the destruction of so many lives."

Bogomils and gave them freedom in the exercise of their beliefs.

Old chronicles tell that the Bosnian Servian nobles (Bogomils and even Catholics) became Moslem with the idea of returning to their Christian faith when national independence should be regained. That time never came, and they continued to live as Moslem feudal lords down to our own time. It is said that even to-day, side by side with the exercise of Mohammedanism, they privately practise many old Christian customs and rites, also that some of the old Roman Catholic Bosnians, whose ancestors had been "forcibly converted," still hand down in secret, from one generation to another, the recital of the Bogomil faith.

Bogomilism is at present completely non-existent in Serb lands.

3. ERECTION OF THE SERVIAN ORTHODOX PATRIARCHAT

King Miloutin (1281–1321), grandfather of Doushan, founded four new Serb Orthodox Eparchias, or Bishopries, at Prisren Scoplyia—Uskub—Zvetchan, and Lyiplyan, and the Arch-Episcopal See was transferred from Zhitcha to Ipek.

Under the Emperor Doushan the number of Eparchias was brought up to twenty, and in 1345, at Uskub, the whole Servian clergy, the Archbishops of Ochrida and Ipek, the Bulgarian Patriarch of Trnovo with his bishops, the Greek clergy and the monks of Mount Athos, convened at the call of Emperor

Doushan and erected the autonomous Servian Patriarchat, electing as first Servian Patriarch, John, Archbishop of Ipek.

This election was a new departure from canonical rules, being effected without the aid or concurrence of the Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople. The Servian Patriarchat was, therefore, open to attack as bearing an initial canonical error.

It was only seven years later, in 1352, that the Patriarch of Constantinople protested and launched against the Servian Church, the Servian people, and the Emperor Doushan his anathema. That anathema developed in Servia two opposing parties: one national and patriotic, averring the authority of the Servian State in regard to the creation of the Servian Patriarchat; the other party agreeing with the Œcumenical Patriarch in pronouncing Doushan's creation uncanonical and therefore illegal and unrighteous. The factional discord thus sown continued up to the time of the disintegration of the empire, to which result it contributed not a little.

The Turkish advance into Servia, which had already succeeded in detaching those eastern Servian lands, where especially the opponents of Doushan's national policy predominated, caused Tsar Lazar Hrebelianovich to realise the necessity of harmonising those ecclesiastical differences by conciliating the Patriarchat of Constantinople. In 1374, after an understanding with the Servian Patriarch Sava IV, Lazar was able to obtain from the Œcumenical Patriarch the withdrawal of the anathema that had been levelled against Doushan and his people, and

was able also to secure the recognition of the Servian Patriarch as the head of the Serb National Church. The happy conclusion of this peace between the Servian and the Greek Churches was celebrated in 1374 at Prisren with great festivities.

The period of the rule of the Nemanyas was the most fertile of growth for the Servian churches and monasteries. The Church received rich endowment in order the better to meet her legal obligations, to care for the sick, crippled, and infirm, to feed the hungry and fulfil her mission as a source of learning and art. The Servian kings erected and maintained a Servian monastery at Constantinople with departments of hospital, education, hospice for students, and library; also a like institution at Ragusa and a monastic hospital and hospice at Jerusalem, which is at present the Russian Orthodox hospice.[1]

With the fall of the Servian Despotat in 1459 the Serbs lost their autonomous Patriarchat and the Servian Church came again under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Ochrida as it had been before the time of Saint Sava. That condition of things robbed the Serbs of whatever protection they might have been able to wrest from the Turkish authorities, and increased the heavy oppression borne by the Serb race. It endured for over a hundred years.

The Servians made unceasing efforts to obtain the re-establishment of their independent National

[1] That Russian hospice is famous for the rôle it played in the events leading to the Crimean War.

Church, but without success until the time when Mehemet Sokolovich, a Servian, was the Grand Vizir of Sultan Soleyman[1] II, the "Magnificent," 1520–66. He had a brother named Macarius who was a Servian monk. Although Grand Vizir Mehemet Sokolovich was a Moslem by faith, he could not forget his origin and his people. After a meeting with his brother in 1557 he re-established the Servian autonomous church, with the Patriarchat at Ipek, and set up his brother Marcarius as Servian Patriarch. So the Serb-Mohammedan Mehemet Sokolovich gave his people a weapon of protection against Turkish violence. The Turkish Sultans recognised the Serb Patriarch for the Serbs and the Greek Patriarch for the other Christians in his dominions as the supreme heads of their respective flocks. Thus Church autonomy became identical with nationality. That new autonomous Servian Patriarchat came to form a power able to provide a compromise between the people and the Ottoman authorities. Macarius re-established the Church organisation, which included in its splendid See all of the Serb lands under Turkish rule. It included Servia, Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Albania, Croatia, Slavonia, Hungary, and Transylvania. Among the privileges accorded to the Servian Patriarch at Ipek, as recognised head of the Serb race, were authority and jurisdiction in regard not only to religious questions but to all civil matters, which powers were exercised either directly or through

[1] Mentioned by Shakespeare in the casket scene in "The Merchant of Venice."

his executive agents. The bishops and their agents had also the right to sit in court beside the Moslem Mollah and Kadi, as representing the Christian "Rayah."

The Servian Patriarchs played a great political rôle in all of the relations between the Servian people and the Turkish authorities with whom they were often thereby in conflict. They had a deep hand in the various insurrections against Turkish rule. The Servian Church, remaining the sole institutional guardian of the national spirit, which was kept brightly glowing, was looked upon by the Turks with growing distrust and dislike.

So it came about that after the insurrection of 1689 the Patriarch Arsen III, won secretly by Austrian fair promises of liberty for his people, led an exodus of Serbs into southern Hungary. Following the military support given by the Serbs to the Austrians in the Austro-Russian-Turkish war, Patriarch Arsen IV, in 1737, forgetting the bitter disillusion of the first Serb exodus, led a second emigration into Austrian lands.

These events roused still further the ill-will and ire of the Turks against the Servians.

4. Absorption of the Servian Patriarchat by the Greek Patriarch. Servian Church under Constantinople

By the end of the seventeenth century the Patriarchat of Constantinople had become the political machine of the Greek quarter in Stamboul, called

"the Phanar," and was used by those Greek families (the "Phanariots") as a means of exploiting the Orthodox populations of the Turkish Empire.[1]

The Constantinople Patriarch, playing upon the Sultan's desire to weaken the Serb Church, obtained from the Sublime Porte, after the second Serb exodus under the Servian Patriarch Arsen IV, 1737, an extension of the Œcumenical Patriarch's right to confirm the consecration of the Servian Patriarchs, and began to auction off the Patriarchat of Ipek to the highest bidder.

During the last thirty years of the Ipek establishment there were no fewer than twelve Patriarchs of Ipek of various nationalities—Greeks, Armenians, Turks, and others—set over the Serb Church by the Phanar Patriarch.

Each one of these men, knowing that his tenure would endure only until the appearance of a higher bidder for his office, made hay while the sun shone. That meant more and more burdensome taxation for the people whose bitter complaints went unheeded.

In 1766 the Patriarch of Constantinople represented to the Sublime Porte that the Serb Patriarchat should be suppressed as being pernicious to the entire Orthodox Church.

In 1767 the Patriarch of Ipek, Vassiliye Brkitch, was forced to abdicate. Upon the undertaking of the Greek Patriarch to pay to the Sultan a tribute of

[1] This period of about one hundred and fifty years of absolute corruption coincides with that of the Phanariote Hospodars who, as Turkish governors, drained the resources of Valachia and Moldavia.

sixty-three thousand aspers "Kara-grosh," the Sultan confirmed to him by hatti-sheriff the incorporation of the Serb Patriarchat into that of the Greek Patriarchat at Constantinople.

Those Bishops of the Serb Church who refused to submit to the Sultan's act, such as the Serb Bishops of Strumna, of Veles, of Presba, of Pelagonia, were forcibly ejected and replaced by Greeks. The same fate befell the Serb Bishops of Belgrade, of Ushitze, of Novi-Bazar (Rashka), of Nish, of Samokov, of Uskub, of Stip, and the Bishops of Herzegovina and Bosnia who appealed to the Russian Synod, claiming protection and recognising the Holy Russian Synod as supreme head of the Servian Church, but with no avail. Everywhere in Serb lands all bishops, and even the lower Servian clergy, were dismissed and replaced by Greeks.

As the Patriarchs' prerogative included not only disciplinary and administrative power, but civil jurisdiction and the protection of the Serbs within their bishopries, the Serbs were, with the suppression of their Patriarch and bishops, bereft of that protection and left to the mercy of Turks and Greeks. Their position became unendurable.

The Greek Patriarchat, once in full possession, auctioned off to the highest bidder the bishopries. The bishops, in their turn, quite openly auctioned off the livings of the lower clergy, and all church offices became the subject of common barter. Corruption was complicated by the continual exaction of "bakshish," from the Turks on one side and the ecclesiastical superior on the other. The burden laid upon

the people grew heavier and heavier, taxes were added to taxes, each rank in the church hierarchy, which had become Greek, levying its own tribute.

5. RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF INDEPENDENT SERVIAN CHURCHES

Servian Church.—That part of Servia which now forms the kingdom was subjected to those unhappy conditions up to the great insurrection, lasting from 1804–15, in which the Servians won their freedom. The first act of the new Servian State was to re-establish the complete independence of the Servian Church with full installation of Servian clergy.

Montenegrin Church.—The same religious miseries never penetrated into Montenegro, which retained its independence, and with the fall of the Servian Patriarchat recognised the Russian Synod as supreme authority.

Servian Church in Bosnia.—Owing to the peculiar relations, up to 1840, of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the Porte—its old Servian nobility having become Moslem, and ruling in well-nigh undisturbed sway, eyeing with jealous mistrust every new element of authority, Moslem or Christian, that arrived from Constantinople—the Greek Phanariot found very poor hunting ground in those western Serb lands. In 1880, after the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and privileges of nomination in that country were bought of the Patriarch of Constantinople for a sum of money by the Austro-Hungarian Government.

Bulgarian Exarchat.—The heaviest suffering fell upon Bulgaria and the territory at the present time forming part of Turkey.

The savage punishment visited by the Turkish people on the Greek Phanariots in 1822, and the recognition by Turkey of the Russian protectorate over the Orthodox Christians of the Turkish Empire, much modified in the first half of the nineteenth century the methods of the Phanariot Bishops and Clergy.

During the sixties in the nineteenth century a movement headed by Prince Michael of Servia and the Servian statesman Yovan Ristich, supported by Russia, wrought for the re-erection of an autonomous Slavonic Church in Turkey. Servia, still struggling to fling off the last remains of Turkish suzerainty, could not hope to have this Slavonic Church take the form of the re-establishment of the Servian Patriarchat at Ipek.

The moment coincided with the reawakening from the slumber of centuries of a Bulgarian national idea. The Servian statesmen as Slavs supported that spirit of resuscitation, and it was due mainly to their efforts, aided by Russia, that in 1870 the Œcumenical Patriarch at Constantinople was won to give consent for the erection of a Bulgarian Exarchat.

The Greek Patriarch erected the Exarchat within the limits of Danubian Bulgaria (Bulgaria as it is to-day). But the Berat of investiture given by the Sultan provided that all parishes throughout European Turkey which were willing to come under the Bulgarian Exarch should be free to do so.

The establishment of that independent Slavonic Church, as it was first looked upon, was greeted with rejoicings by all Slavs in all Balkan lands. Very many parishes left the Greek Patriarchat and went over to the Bulgarian Exarchat.

The Greek propaganda realising its loss waged fierce attack against the new Exarchat, which the Patriarch attempted to keep within the bounds of Danubian Bulgaria. Finding all efforts vain, the Œcumenical Patriarch hurled anathema against the Exarchat.

Prior to that date the Greek propaganda was able justly to hope that with the help of the Greek Patriarchat a great Greek State could be erected on the ruins of Macedonian Turkey.

The blow dealt by the Exarchat to the Greek propaganda was deadly. The late Œcumenical Patriarch said to the German Byzantologue Geltzer: "All is lost to my countrymen."

With the creation of Bulgaria in 1878 by Russia, the Exarchat became the national political Bulgarian Church—instead of the Slavonic Church which for eight years it had represented.

The Bulgarian Exarchat entered the field as rival to the Greek propaganda in Macedonia. Then occurred a curious phenomenon: the Bulgarian Exarchat becoming recognised by the populations in Macedonia as a Bulgarising propaganda, large numbers of parishes, not wishing to be made Bulgarians, forsook their new allegiance to the Exarchat and re-entered the Greek Patriarchat, which was wise enough to provide them with Slavonic priests.

New Servian Archbishopric in Turkey.—In 1901, for the first time in one hundred and thirty-five years, the Servian Government was able to obtain from the Turkish Government and the Patriarch the establishment of a Servian Archbishopric at Uskub and a small number of bishoprics for the Servians of the Turkish Empire. And in 1906 the Turkish Government also recognised in Macedonia a Serb Millet or nationality.

Servian Church in Austria-Hungary.—The history of the Servian Church in Austria and Hungary, especially after the arrival of the Serbs who came with the immigration under the Patriarchs Arsen III and Arsen IV, in 1689 and 1737, is a continual fight of resistance against political forces aimed at the destruction of the Servian Orthodox faith and the Servian nationality.

6. EDUCATION

One of the chief functions of the monasteries of mediæval Servia was education in its higher grades. The primary and lower instruction was given by the parish priests. Education was based on the classical Greco-Latin learning coming through Byzance; it was religious, philosophical, and legal. There was much translation into Servian and study of Greek and Latin classics, including philosophical, historical, legal and dramatic works. For the highest learning Servians went to Constantinople, where the Servian kings had built a hospice for them, or to Italy or Ragusa, where Emperor Doushan had founded a library and hospice for their use.

Despot Stephan Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich, in 1407, when Servian lands were under the greatest strain of resistance against the unceasing pressure of Turkish conquest, built and founded the castle and monastery of Resava—called afterward Manassia—as a seat of higher learning. According to his charter the monastery was formed to house all scholars, whether laymen or ecclesiastics, who were devoted to the pursuit of art, science, or any branch of learning. Not only was the place destined to be a source of instruction and research, but the great works of learning and classical lore were to be translated into Servian and copies made and sent out to all other schools in Servian lands. Manassia fulfilled its mission during a quarter of a century or more until finally broken up by the Turkish invasion. It is noteworthy that this foundation of the Servian ruler anticipated by two hundred years the founding by Mazarin of the French Academy.

After the conquest of the Serb lands by the Turks, the greater number of Servian scholars went to live in Italy, at Venice, Florence, Pisa, Bologna, and other towns. These scholars took with them a rich treasure of translations into the Servian tongue from the Greek, Latin, and Arabic classics, and many manuscripts of these classics in the original languages. On the walls of the Duomo at Florence can be read to-day the names of some of these Servian families whose works formed part of the glory of the Italian Renascence.

Roumanian (Valachian and Moldavian) State documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries

indicate that Roumanians connected with public affairs went for their studies to the Servian seats of learning.

Russian documents of the same centuries show that Servian teachers were called to Moscow, Kieff, and Novgorod. In the old Russian libraries of to-day it is found that the works of that period, of a scientific nature, are most of them written in Servianised Slavonic, or were works written in Servia and carried to Russia.

Between 1450 and 1700 most of the official Turkish documents in Constantinople were written in the Servian language, as all of the greater Turkish Grand Vizirs and many of the other higher Turkish State officials were of the Serb race.

At present the highest learning in Servian countries is found at the Universities of Belgrade in Servia and Zagreb in Croatia.

CHAPTER X

LITERATURE, THE FINE ARTS, MUSIC, AND THE DRAMA

IT can rightly be said that the Holy Bible, "The Book," as the Servians call it, translated into Paleo-Slovene by the two noble brothers Cyril and Method, "the Slavonic disciples," in the middle of the ninth century, was the first book in the language. With it dawned Servian literature and all Servian culture.

The Servians found in Christ and his book the supreme formulation of principles of brotherly love and individual responsibility and dignity which had formed the main ideals of their race, and, so far back as could be known, had been characteristic of that race's remotest ancestors.

Of this the great Code Doushan bears incontestable witness, embodying as it does more of the Christian ideal than is to be found in any other Code of those ages, and in some regards being abreast of the best "justice and mercy" of modern attainment.

No less noble a monument to this fact, though in that time less remarkable, was the Hilendar Monastery on Mount Athos, the creation of Servian kings and saints, which was held through centuries, and is even up to the present, not only as a famous seat of learn-

ing, but as a day-spring of national and lofty racial inspiration.

To trace the literary as all other cultural expressions of the Servian people[1] is to follow the race through the storm and sunshine of its varying fortunes—sometimes through the "Valley of the Shadow," where there is but plaint and chill stillness, sometimes out to more peaceful plains of temporary repose and hope, where beauty once more took heart and bright streams reflected the "sweet light of day," singing in remembrance of glory agone and in prescience of grandeur yet to be.

Servian literature, prior to the present time, had never an opportunity to develop normally and steadily, but was manifested as well as might be, now in one region, now in another, during periods of pause or comparative calm in the long battle of national defence.

Servian literary production was of twofold character: that which was written and, after 1494, printed, and that other mass of poetic and vivid expression recording the heart-beats of a race and portraying even more exactly its intimate psychological history, with its power of intellectual imagery and ideal, than the historical events which it described. Epic poems, ballads, and songs, as well as words of popular wit and wisdom embodied in "sayings," humourous stories, and parables, were handed

[1] For reference see: P. J. Šafarik, "Geschichte der Südsl. Literatur Illyr. und Kroat," Band 2, Serben, Band 3, Prag, 1865; B. Jagich, "Historiya Knjizhevnosti naroda hrvatskoga ili srbskoga," Zagreb, 1867; Stoyan Novakovich, "Istoriya srpske knjizhevnost," Beograd, 1871; Pypin and Spasovich, "Geschichte der Serbischen Literatur," Leipzig, 1880; and J. Grtchich, "Istoriya srpske knjizhevnost," Novi Sad, 1903.

by word of mouth from generation to generation—written only in the minds of the living.

Since the year 1814, when this spoken poetry and lore began to be written out and published by Vouk Stephanovich Karadjich, these two streams of Servian literary expression flow together in one splendid channel, being able for the first time to make way unimpeded, like some grand river gathering within its bosom the living waters of a million mountain springs and floods.

The written literature comprises: (1) The old Servian literature belonging to the period of the Servian kingdoms and the Empire, up to the time of the Turkish invasion; (2) The "Dalmatian Literature," covering the time from the Turkish invasion to the eighteenth century; (3) The literature of the "Kaykavci," written in the local dialect spoken in northwestern Croatia covering the period from the middle of the sixteenth up to the nineteenth century; (4) The modern Servian and the new Serbo-Croat literature developed during the last hundred years.

1. THE OLD SERVIAN LITERATURE

The literary monuments of this period are written in the Paleo-Slovene, the sacred language of the Servian Orthodox Church and the first medium of written Serb literature. Austere and classical in mould, this body of literature yet resembled enough the common speech of the people to be generally understood. It became permeated with popular words and expressions, and those wind-blown seeds

from the vernacular bore constant flower, Servianising the ancient written language into a form called by philologists "Old Slavonic of the Servian Edition."

The chief productions were publications of the Evangels and parts of the old Bible, holy legends, homilies, and other works of a devout nature. There were also biographies of Servian sovereigns and bishops all of a panegyric character. Among the most interesting of these books which have come down to the present time is the biography of the great ruler Stephan Nemanya, the unifier of mediæval Servia, who, on becoming a monk, took the name of Simeon, canonised afterward as Saint Simeon. This biography, written by his no less illustrious sons, Saint Sava, born in 1176, died in 1237, the first Archbishop of the Servian Church, and his other son the "Prvoventchani" ("the First-Crowned"), King Stephan, has been edited in modern times and published by Shafarik (at Prague, in 1851) under the title of "Zhivot Svetoga Simeouna."

The biography of Stephan Nemanya, written in 1264, and of Saint Sava, by the monk Domentian, were edited and published in 1865 at Belgrade by Danitchich as "Zhivot Svetoga Simeouna i Svetoga Save."

Among the manuscripts of Mount Athos is the "Rodoslov," written in 1272–1325 by Archbishop Danielo, containing a consecutive story of the lives of the Servian kings and archbishops. The author was the contemporary of many of the persons whose history he wrote, and the work, though a panegyric, is of some historic value. It was edited and pub-

lished by Danitchich at Zagreb Agram, in 1866, under the title of "Zhivot Kralya i Arch-Episcopa Srbski."

The oldest Servian annals or year-books extant date from the beginning of the fourteenth century. There are many extant, as almost all of the old monasteries can show several of them.

The oldest surviving Bosnian document is a diploma of Kulin Ban of Bosnia, dated 1189. There are many State and church documents of subsequent date.

In the first half of the fifteenth century Constantine the Philosopher wrote the life and times of Despot Stephan Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich. That monarch himself wrote an essay on Love and translated some of the Greek and Latin classics into Servian.

The greatest and most living literary monument of that period is the codification of the laws, ordinances, and customary usages of the Servians by a commission of the legislative Servian body—the great National Assembly, under the presidency and guidance of the Emperor Stephan Doushan, called the "Zakonik or Code Doushan." It was first promulgated by the Emperor in 1349 (at Scoplyia—Uskub—in Macedonia), and was revised in 1354.

It has been edited and published, together with studies of it, by Stoyan Novakovich in modern Servian, at Belgrade in 1870; in Russian, at St. Petersburg, by Zigel, in 1872; by Florinsky, at Kiev, in 1888; by German writers; and also at Brussels in the form of a short study in French by Borchegrave.

The language of these laws is explicit and direct, and their spirit—like a Bosnian river re-issuing to daylight after remaining long hidden in the earth's bosom

—came back with reconquered Servian liberty to follow anew its course through modern Servian legislation.

The Old popular writings included, besides fiction and the lives of heroes, tracts of a religious nature, many of them referring to "Bogomilism."

Much read were a "Life of Alexander the Great," "The War of Troy," an Indian story called "Stefanite and Ichnitat," and another romantic novel called "Vladimir and Kossara." There were many translations from Greek and Latin classical writers, more from the former than from the latter; translations of works of a military order, "The Art of Warfare," etc., and numerous translations and studies of Byzantine and Roman laws and codifications—the Justinian Code, Trebonian, etc.

Of the popular epic and lyric poetry of that period very little was fixed in writing. Only a few fragments of these have come down to us, though the custom among Serbs of chanting the deeds of heroes and national events in ballad form was remarked by many writers and diplomats of the time, among them Nicephores Gregores, a Byzantine historian, in a document of 1326.

In 1494 the first printing-press was established on Servian soil at Obod, in Montenegro, by a Servian nobleman, Bojidar Voukovich of Podgoritza. It printed mostly religious books.

Although the Turks were masters of Servian lands, printing-presses were rapidly set up in several places and were at work from Belgrade to Montenegro. Measures were, however, soon taken by the Turks for their suppression, and by the second half of the

sixteenth century there were no more Servian presses left in Servian lands.

The Serb master printers went to Venice, where they erected presses and continued to issue works in Servian. Those productions were of a religious nature, most of them for church use.

2. THE DALMATIAN PERIOD

The domination of the Turks from 1459 halted the development of intellectual and literary life in Servian lands, except in Ragusa and in the Dalmatian littoral (which was under Venetian rule), from the latter half of the fifteenth up to the end of the eighteenth century. Ragusa (in Servian, Doubrovnik) was during that time the centre of Servian literary production.

The Dalmatian literature, written generally in verse, showed signs of Italian influence in form and in matter, and was less national in character than is the rest of Servian poetry, whose flame in all ages has been lighted at the central "sacred fire" of the national hearth.

The Servian youth of that period generally studied at the famous schools of Venice, Padua, Florence, and elsewhere in Europe, and nearly all of the Servian writers of the time wrote in Greek, Latin, and Italian as well as in their own language.

The great merit of the Dalmatian writers is that they freed themselves from the Paleo-Slovene and wrote in the Servian as it was spoken by the people.

Among these writers the earliest to win distinction

was Marko Marulich of Spalato, 1450–1524. He studied at Padua University and was a scholar of large intellectual attainment. He saw in Christ the supreme goal of human journeying, and his poetry was religious, his chief work being "The Song and History of the Holy Judith" (1521). As a writer in Italian also he has some renown.

The "father" of the Ragusan poetic school is the lyric poet S. Mentchetich (1457–1501), followed by George Drzhich (died 1507), Hannibal Lutchich (1480–1540), author of the drama "Robinya" ("The Slave-Girl"), a romance of the Turkish wars; Nikola Vetranich (the monk Mavra—1482–1576), writer of Mysteries, "The Sacrifice of Abraham," etc., and of the poems, "Remeta," "Putnik" ("The Wanderer"), "Italia," etc.; and Petar Hectorovich (1486–1572), author of the poetic and philosophical "Ribanye."

A new line of poets begins with Andra Chubranovich (died 1550) and his epic song "Yedjoupka" ("Gypsy"); the dramatist Nikola Nalyeshkovich (1510–87); Marin Dozhich (died 1580); and Dinko Ranyina (1536–1607), a writer of love songs, epistles, and didactic and idyllic poems.

The highest point of the Dalmatian period during two hundred years is reached by Ivan Gundulich (1550–88). His life and work cover a portion of the time of Shakespeare. He wrote many plays and translated into Servian "Gerusaleme Liberata." He threw off all imitation of Italian or classical forms, and used the people's tongue with the power of nature and with a magic glow. He shows in his great epic poem, "Osman," the supreme life-drama

of his own age and the century preceding it—the mighty struggle between the Christians of the near Orient and the invading hosts of Islam.

The exultation when Christian victories are won is natural in a Christian, but Turkish valour, too, is not denied its meed of praise. "Osman" shows this characteristic—odd-seeming to strangers—of the readiness shown by Serbs in all their dealings, whether military or political, with the followers of Mohammed to recognise the virtues of the foe, sometimes to laud a heroism directed against themselves, considering only its intrinsic quality.[1]

Junius Palmotich (1606–57) was also a playwright, finding his subjects in old Ragusan tales and historical events. He founded several plays on Italian works: Tasso's "Gerusaleme Liberata," Ariosto's "Orlando Furioso," both of which were the chief delight of cultured Europe at that time. He also went to Ovid for inspiration, as did several other Servian writers. The language used, in spite of his foreign classical subjects, was the simple Servian as spoken by the people. His lyrics and other poems are chiefly religious; his most important work, "Christiada," is based on the work of Giorolomo Vida, written a hundred years earlier.

After the ruin of Ragusa by the earthquake of April 17, 1667, and the destruction of her riches and prosperity, the torch of literature was also dimmed, and only flickered during the seventeenth century up to the advent of James Palmotich (died 1680). He was

[1] This may be partly explained in the sense of the wit who said, "It is wonderful how much I like a man when I have fought with him."

a Ragusan patrician who wrote the epic poem "Doubrovnik Ponovlyen" ("Ragusa Renewed"). Between 1676 and 1737 came Ignacio Dgorgich, a scholar of great learning and renown, at one time belonging to the faculty of Padua. His works, like those of many of his compatriots, were the flowering of a deeply religious nature, the most beautiful among them being his translation into Servian of the Psalms of David.

Andra Katchich Mioshich (1690–1737), son of the couchant radiance of the Dalmatian period, and, like those who had gone before, of high intellectual and classical attainment, was, in his nascent sense of the riches stored in the genius of the people, a kind of forerunner of the modern literary dawn.

Travelling through the Serb lands, he came deeply under the spell of the Servian songs and ballads in which he heard the people singing the deeds of their heroes, and he afterward published a book containing many of these national songs and some by himself in the same style and spirit. He attempted to include in his collection songs of all the different Serb lands, from Croatia to Bulgaria.

All the writings of the Dalmatian poets were edited and published between 1869 and 1899, in twenty-one volumes, by the South Slavonic Academy at Zagreb.

3. THE LITERATURE OF THE "KAYKAVCI"

This literature flourished in the north-western part of Croatia, and was written in the local dialect of that region called the Kaykavci, from the use of the word "kay" instead of "shto" for "what." This

literature began with and was the fruit of the early Protestant Reformation movement in the middle of the sixteenth century, and continued to be produced up to the nineteenth century. It is made up chiefly of chronicles, year-books, popular poems, and works of a popular religious nature. It has not left any great literary landmarks.

4. MODERN SERVIAN AND NEW SERBO-CROAT LITERATURE

The literature of the Serb region covering the last hundred years is generally considered in two main divisions, according to its relation to the two great axes of modern Servian thought: that centring about Belgrade in the kingdom of Servia, and about Novi Sad in the Batchka, called Modern Servian, and that having Zagreb as its centre, called New Serbo-Croat. The only difference between them is the alphabet employed: the Servian being written in Cyrillic characters, the Serbo-Croat using the Latin letters with accent marks borrowed from the Tcheck orthography.

Modern Servian Literature

The beginning of the modern Servian period of literature dates from the retreat of the Turks back across the Danube. At that time the territory of the present kingdom of Servia had not yet been able to throw off the Turkish yoke, and the Serbs of the newly cleared Banat and Batchka (in southern Hungary) at once began to set up schools.

Stoyan Novakovich

President of the Royal Servian Academy of Science, several times Prime Minister, and the greatest living Servian historian.

The Russians sent them teachers and professors, and proffered help to them in many ways. Russia had also, for over a hundred years, been sending to the Servians and the Bulgarians church-books of all kinds written in the old Russianised Paleo-Slovene. Owing to these causes, the first literary efforts of the Serbs of Banat and Batchka, the products of these schools, were not printed in the old Paleo-Slovene of the Servian Edition, but in a Russianised Paleo-Slovene, which gathered to itself enough words and expressions from the Servian language, as spoken by the people, to become known as the "Slaveno-Servian."

Most of the literary productions up to the close of the eighteenth century were written in this Slaveno-Servian, although certain authors still wrote in the old Servian Slavonic.

The works of this period include: the "History of the Servian People," by the last Servian Despot, George III, Brankovich (died 1711) and the "History of the Slavonic Peoples, Especially the Croats, Servians, and Bulgarians," by Bishop Iovan Rayich (1726–1801), etc.

Little by little pure Servian, as spoken by the people, asserted itself and found its prophets and heroes. Its pioneer was Dossithe Obradovich, who opened a fresh way and elevated the ordinary speech to a literary language.

Born in the Banat in Tchakovo village in 1739, he was from his earliest years imbued with a passion for study. At the age of fourteen he ran away from an apprenticeship and entered the monastery of

Hopovo. After devouring the contents of the library there he hungered for further learning and left Hopovo bound for Hilendar, Mount Athos. On the way he fell ill at Cattaro (Montenegro). There he wrote an essay in the every-day language which attained immediate success.

After reaching Mount Athos he again left that place for Smyrna, passed three years in a Greek school, and came back via Corfu, Albania, Venice, Trieste, and thence to Vienna, where he passed six years. Everywhere he studied with avidity, giving lessons in one language or another to pay his way. From Vienna he went to Italy, then to Constantinople, Moldavia, Moscow, Poland, and Germany. There he paused to study at Leipzig, with which he was much delighted. While there he published a small book of his adventures and travels, dreaming always of his compatriots with longings that they might share the educational advantages to be found elsewhere. No romance is more engaging than this little book, every page aglow with pure patriotism. Yearning over his people, he realises the value to a race that would survive of fidelity to strict and severe moral rectitude, along with cultural expansion and literary renascence. His is the first production in Modern Servian and remains one of the most interesting.

After two years in Germany he went to England, where he found hospitable appreciation and true friends. Then he returned to Germany, where he published his translations of Æsop's Fables in a simple, clear style. After pushing still farther afield —through Russia then back to Venice—the earthly

journeyings of the old wanderer came to a close at Belgrade, where he died in 1811.

He had gone there in answer to the call of Kara-George, the first liberator of modern Servia, who made him first Minister of Public Instruction in the newly organised Government.

Among other educational works he laid the foundations of the high school which has since developed into the University of Belgrade.

Following a number of writers who were striving toward better forms, among whom was Dimitrye Davidovich (1789–1839), publisher and editor during two years of a Servian newspaper and a Servian almanac—there appeared Vouk Stephanovich Karadjich (1787–1864). Of strong character and original genius, he drew from the speech of the people a rich and beauteous literary medium, and endowed the mother-tongue in return with a noble and elegant formulation, simplifying and fixing its means of orthography and its forms of grammar and construction for the expression of a language which is the most perfect and modern of all the Slavonic dialects. It is to-day in universal use, written either in Cyrillic (phonetic) alphabet or in Latin characters, throughout all the regions of the great Servian Block of territory.

Vouk Stephanovich Karadjich, like Obradovich, the scholarly wanderers of the Dalmatian period, and the Old Servian writers, possessed the fine intellectual mettle which has so often characterised Servian writers, statesmen, and men of science, and was in early childhood and ever after an ardent seeker for

knowledge. He was born in Servia and studied first at Belgrade and Karlovitz. During the great rebellion against Turkish rule he was secretary to Kara-George and other leaders, and turned to good account his journeys from one side of the country to the other, to gather from the lips of the people their songs and ballads, poems, proverbs, and tales. After the flight of Kara-George he went to Vienna, where he published all that wealth of national literary treasure—never until that time put on paper. The appearance of these poems was a revelation to Europe, calling forth expressions of delight and of astonishment that they should have so long existed unknown to the Western world.

In the same year, 1814, he published a Servian grammar, the forerunner of his great work. A Serbo-German-Latin dictionary followed in 1818. These publications, with studies and classifications of the old customary and traditional forms of grammatical construction which he found in the mass of matter he had collected, were epoch-making and, indeed, coincided with the fresh dawn of a new epoch in Servian national existence.

Like all reformers, he met at first with hot opposition from those who were unable to appreciate the trend and potentiality of his work; many others gave him enthusiastic support. His publication of the *Danitza* (*Morning Star*)—1826–29—though primarily devoted to literary interests, had a strong influence on the current of national ideas which were once more stirring with awakening force among all Serbs.

A book would be required for any adequate examination of the various manifestations of the Servian literary impulse throughout the Serb lands during the first years of the modern renascence. Many literary societies and clubs were founded in order to make possible the publication of the works of young authors, newspapers, almanacs, brochures, etc., and in order to bestow purses and prizes upon poor students. The two most important of these societies were the "Matitza" (the "Servian Queen Bee") and the "Omladina" ("Servian Youth"). The history of the "Matitza," as first conceived by Yovan Hadzhitch in 1823, and its final triumphant establishment at Novi-Sad after many years of courageous effort by its promulgators against heavy odds, makes in itself an inspiring tale. The "Omladina" is also an exemplification of true Servian conquest by unflagging devotion to an ideal.

Novi-Sad is still a rallying-place for the Serbs of South Hungary (Banat and Batchka), though the founding of the Scientific Societies of Belgrade and the swift educational growth of the young State across the Danube had the effect of transferring the centre of Servian culture from Novi-Sad to Belgrade.

Lucian Mouzhitski (1777–1837) wrote national odes in classical form, and the poems of Vitjentiye Rakich, who lived from 1750 to 1818, had their origin in popular legends. Gavril Kovatchevich, in the early nineteenth century, sang the songs of the Servian Insurrection under Kara-George and Milosh Obrenovitch.

Then came the novel-writers Athanas Stoykovich and Milovan Vidakovich (1779–1841); Sima

Milutinovich, born at Serayevo, Bosnia (1791–1847); the poet of a cycle of national songs called "Srbyianka," an apotheosis of the fights for freedom; the lyric poet and dramatist Yovan S. Popovich (1806–56), author of the tragedy "King Stephan Detchanski"; the dramatist Lazar Lazarevich (1805–46), who wrote the drama "Vladimir and Kosara" (1829); and Yovan Subotich (1817–86), who wrote the epic poem "Stephan Detchanski," into which he wove numerous pieces of popular poetry and song.

The three most important of the lyric poets of the time, chanting the national spirit, were: Branko Raditchevich, Peter I, Petrovich-Nyegosh, Prince-Bishop of Montenegro, and Zmay Yovan Yovanovich. Branko Raditchevich (1824–53) was the author of happy songs of young life and sweet love songs written in elegant and musical verse; the Prince-Bishop of Montenegro (1813–51), Petrovich-Nyegosh, great-uncle of the present Prince Nicola of Montenegro, was a poet from youth, seeking in verse the expression of sublime and philosophical ideas. His finest work is "Gorski Vyenatz" ("Mountain Garland"), wreathing a drama of poems about the Black Mountain and its people; while Zmay Yovan Yovanovich (1833–1904), the most popular of modern Serb poets, was a writer of satirical verses, lyrics, and children's songs, and a translator of poems from many languages, including English, into Servian.

Other poets are Gjura Yakshich (1832–78), a poet and novelist and the author of many stories and plays much considered in the middle of the nineteenth century; Yovan Ilich (1832–76), Voyslav

Ilich (1862–94), Lyouba Nenadovich, Voyslav Katchanski, Milorad J. Mitrovich (1867–1907), Yovan Doutchich, who is the modern sentimental lyric poet, and Sv. Stephanovich, the lyric writer, poet-philosopher, and translator of Shakespeare into the Servian tongue.

The present Prince Nicola I., Petrovich-Nyegosh of Montenegro, has written many songs and poems and has won especial distinction as the author of the poetical drama "Balkanska Tzaritza" ("The Balkan Empress"). This play has been translated into several European languages.

Among writers of comedy and drama are Kosta Trifkovich (1843–75); Milosh Cvetich (1845–1906), author of the dramas "Tzar Doushan," "Nemanya," etc.; Dragoutin Ilych, with "King Voukashin"; and especially Lazar Kostich, born in 1841, author of the best contemporary Servian dramas, among which are "Maxim Tzernoyevich," "Gordana," and "Pera Segedinatz." Kostich has made fine translations into Servian of several of Shakespeare's masterpieces.

The advancing nineteenth century developed several writers who brought to a high degree of perfection the art of presenting vividly to the mind a page or a day of life in short stories. These short stories have the characteristic that while they are written with a light and occasionally a satirical touch, and depict engaging or humourous traits of Servian life and character, they are at the same time keen studies of psychological, social, and racial conditions. The first of these in importance were Lazar Lazarovich (1851–90), Milan Militchevich, Ilya Voukitchevich

(1866–99), Yanko Vessilinovich (who died in 1904), Stepan Mitrov Lyubisha, Stevan Srematz (who died in 1906), Sima Matavouly, Marco Tzar, Milorad Popovich Shaptchanin (1841–95), and Sv. Tchorovich. Tchedo Mijatovich, former Servian Minister in London, represents a considerable list of successful novels, his style being especially noteworthy. The best of these is "Rayko iz Rashina." He has also published among historical studies "Gjouradj Brankovich" and "The Conquest of Constantinople."

The list of Servian historians includes Miloutinovich, "History of Montenegro" (1835) and "History of Servia in 1813–1815"; Pavle Yovanovich, "History of the Important Events in Servia from 1459 to 1813"; A. Stoyatchkovich, "History of the Eastern Slavonic Church Service" and "Sketches of the Life of the Serb People in Hungary"; Milorad Medakovich, "History of Montenegro"; Danilo Medakovich, "History of the Servian People"; N. Krstich, Panta Sretchkovich, "History of the Servians," in two volumes; Yovan Ristich, late Prime Minister and Regent for Prince, afterward King Milan, "Diplomatic History of Servia in 1875–78," in two volumes; D. Rouvaratz, M. Yakshich, N. Petrovich, M. Vesnich, Servian Minister in Paris, M. Spalkoaïvich, Servian Minister in London, Lyouba Kovatchevich, Lyouba Yovanovich, M. Gavrilovich, Chief Librarian of the State Archives, and St. Stanoyevich, the author of half a dozen studies in Servian history which he wrote in the Servian, German, and Russian languages. Among these is his

political and diplomatic history of the Servians, recently published. M. Vlainatz is the author of various historical, economical, and legal studies. M. Gj. Militchevich, of ethnographic studies; V. Bogishich, of studies of the Slavonic, especially the South-Slavonic customary laws, and a codification of the civil and penal laws of Montenegro.

Gjouro Danitchich (who died in 1882) was a younger lieutenant of Karadjich. His chief works were a "Servian Grammar" (1850), a "Syntax" (1858), a "Dictionary of Old Servian Literature," "History of Forms in the Servian Language," "Roots and Construction of Servian Words," and his monumental life-work the "Historical and Critical Dictionary of the Servian or Croat Language."

At the head of all living Servian historians is Stoyan Novakovich, a pupil of Gjouro Danitchich. Statesman as well as scholar, he has been Prime Minister of Servia several times and is president of the Servian Academy of Science. His early publications included a "Servian Grammar" and other linguistic studies, and he published in 1869 the "History of Servian Literature" and "Servian Bibliography from 1741 to 1867 and from 1868 to 1876," "Early Literature Written in Paleo-Slovene and Serbo-Slovene," a "History of the Servian States from the Tenth to the Twelfth Centuries," "Old Servian Heraldry," "Servians and Turks in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," "The Last of the Brankovich's in History and National Song," a "Critical Examination of the Serbian National Pesmas," and an edition of the original epic "Kos-

sovo," with the later additions expurgated by philological means. Novakovich has also published many other historical studies and a modern edition of the "Zakonik Tzara Doushana."

The Archimandrite Illarion Rouvaratz was a critic of history whose work, with all the defects of its virtues, is precious to Servian students. Of vast erudition and sharply scientific genius, zealous and jealous for truthful exactitude, it was said of him that his pen bit its way in with acid. On the speculative subject as to final Servian mastery of their perilous position in the midst of crushing forces, he said: "If the man is of wood, he is shattered; if of iron, he is bent—and stays bent; if he is of steel, he will be bent this way and that, but ever springs straight again. It is for the Servians to prove whether there are more men among them of wood, of iron, or of steel." [1]

To enumerate men who have won distinction in the sciences: the name of a Servian of the eighteenth century, renowned throughout Europe as a mathematician, physicist, astronomer, and philosopher, is Ruggiero Boshkovich, used as reference by Herbert Spencer; Yovan Zhouyovich, geologist, published in 1884, in French, in Paris his notable petrographic study of the rocks of the Cordilleras mountains. He afterward made the geological survey of Servia, published at Belgrade. Yosip Pantchich,

[1] That remark was made in 1894, at Easter-time, to the author, who treasures the remembrance of weeks passed at the monastery of Grgetek, in Syrmia, as the guest of the venerable scholar and monk who, for all his severity, was yet deeply revered and dearly loved by the people around about.

naturalist, famed in Europe, whose name is attached to several botanical and zoological specimens, was born in 1814 and died in 1888. Sima Lozanich was a well-known chemical analyst. Mathematicians of European distinction, having published works in German, French, and Servian, are Lyuba Klerich, D. Neshich, and D. Stojanovich; Prof. N. I. Stamenkovich, known for his hydrotechnical studies, also invented an arithmometer for calculating the dimensions of the water sections of a canal or river.[1] Branislav Petroniyevich is known both in Europe and America as a philosophical thinker of great value. Both sides of the world likewise know the works of geological, geographical, and ethnological research by Iovan Cviyich. At Columbia University, New York, is M. I. Pupin, of Servian origin, a well-known professor of electro-mechanics. Added to these is the Servian Nicola Tesla, a famous explorer in electrical science, whose conceptions and discoveries of principles, hurrying him ever forward without always a halt for their material realisation in concrete inventions, have been highly suggestive to an age of powerful electricians.

Among the Servian scientific periodical publications are: *Glasnik*, organ of the Society of Servian Scientists, in two parts, containing seventy-five and fifteen volumes respectively; the *Glas*, from 1887 to 1908, represented in sixty-two volumes; the *Spomenik*, from 1888 up to the present time the organ of

[1] At the author's request, Professor Stamenkovich, aided by Servian engineers, has made the preliminary surveys and prepared the plans and project for a great waterway to connect the Danube and the Ægean Sea through Servia and Turkey.

the Royal Servian Academy of Science; the *Srbski Knyizhevni Glasnik*, the *Letopis*, in three hundred volumes, published at Novi-Sad by the "Matitza Srbska"; the *Otachbina*, in one hundred and twenty-nine volumes, published at Belgrade; and the *Godishnitza Nicola Tchoupitcha*, in twenty-one volumes. The oldest Servian newspapers still being published are the official *Srbske Novine*, founded at Belgrade in 1834, and the *Zastava*, at Novi-Sad, founded by Miletich fifty-two years ago.

New Serbo-Croat Literature

The modern Serbo-Croat literature dates from 1830, when the reawakening of the Servian and Croatian national sentiment took place and when the tendency toward a unification began to be felt. Its founder was Lyudevit Gaj (pronounced Gayhe), who was born at Krapina, in Croatia, in 1809, and who died in 1872.

What Karadjich did for the reform and simplification of Servian orthography in Cyrillic characters used by the people of eastern, central, and southern parts of the great Serb Block of territory, Lyudevit Gaj did for the Latin alphabet and spelling as used by Croatians in the west. He based his reforms on various accentual signs adopted from the Tcheks. Gaj was also the moving spirit in the Serbo-Croat renascence that was centring at Zagreb—Agram. He and his friends, like his eastern Servian brother Karadjich and his co-workers, were inspired by the ideal of bringing the broken and crushed ruins

of the race into structural form and unity. In the same sense a Slovack, Ian Kollar, had stirred all young Serbs as well as Slovacks with his poem "Slavy Deera" ("Daughter of Glory"). After several works published in Serbo-Croat, German, and Latin, Lyudevit Gaj launched out in the publication at Zagreb, in 1835, of a newspaper, *Hrvatske Novine*, giving political news, with a literary supplement called *Danitza* (*Morning Star*).

Lack of space prevents the discussion of the appearance and interesting development of "Illyrianism," a name of which Gaj and his fellow-workers undertook for a short while to make a unifying symbol. It is sufficient to recall the decree, in 1843, of the Austrian Emperor Ferdinand, forbidding the words "Illyrian, Illyrianism, or Illyria" to be used either in newspapers, printed works, debates, or schools, etc. It is important to note, however, that through the efforts of Lyudevit Gaj, Vouk Stephanovich Karadjich's restoration of the pure Servian tongue as spoken by the people and as used in the works of old Servian writers was also adopted by the Croatians. The result of this uniform acceptance is that at the present time there remains only the slightest sectional variation in the speech of all the different Serb lands. In addition to the newspapers published by Gaj, he wrote many books all to the same end. Some of them were text-books which were adopted by the Serbian schools.

One of the effects of the work of Karadjich, Gaj, and other ardent spirits of that new dawn was the advent of the enlightened idea among Serbs of

keeping religious differences apart from national considerations. In violation of Christ's teachings, priests and churches had long been made the ignorant means, by the stirring up of religious strife in regions where Roman Catholics were numerous, of strengthening a foreign domination over men of Servian race.

However, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the advocation of union between co-nationals who differed in regard to ecclesiastical allegiance found a friend, and almost a martyr, in Archbishop Strossmayer of Croatia, a high soul caring only for truth. A devotee of art and learning, a lover of Christ and of human beings, admired by the greatest of European statesmen, he deserves always to be remembered by Serbs for his work, carried on in spite of severe discipline from Rome and Vienna.

At his own expense Archbishop Strossmayer founded the famous library and museum which are now the pride of Zagreb. In connection with the museum is a picture gallery given by him and an art school. He was also the chief founder of the Yougo-Slovenska Academia (South-Slavonic Academy of Science) and the Croatian University.

During the inception and progress of these works bringing into the field every possible auxiliary of his authority and the force of the funds he commanded, he waged a ceaseless campaign aimed at inducing Servian Christians, both Catholic and Orthodox, to be no longer the victims of religious dissensions, but to be united as brothers in their common cause of nationality. In these aims this great Roman Catho-

lie of Serbo-Germanic origin showed himself to be a true Serb and a true Christian.

Among Serbo-Croat writers in addition to Gaj were the lyric poet Stanko Vraz (1810–51), who wrote "Gjoulabye" and "Gouzla i Tamboura"; the patriotic poet Dragoutin Rakovatz (1813–93); Lyudevit Voukotinovich (1813–93), author of "Pyesme i Pripovetke" and "Ruzhe i Trnye"; and Mirko Bogovich (1816–93), with his songs, "Lyubice," his political poems, "Domorodni glasi," his dramas, "Frankopan," "Matiash Gubetz," etc. Other writers were Dimitri Demeter (1811–72); Ivan de Taruski (born in 1819), the lyric dramatist; and the short-story tellers Ivan Koukoulyevich (1816–89), Ivan Yourkovich (1827–89), and Ivan Mazuranich (1813–90), who replaced the lost songs in the poem "Osman," by Goundoulich, and wrote the epic "Smrt Smail aghe Tchenghicha." The greatest Croatian lyric poet was Colonel Petar Preradovich (1818–72), whose finest poem is "Poutnik" ("The Wanderer"). The other writers of drama and short stories were Ivan Djezman (1841–73), J. E. Tomich (born in 1843), F. Markovich (born in 1845), E. Koumitchich (born in 1850), and J. Kozaratz (born in 1858). The authors of lyric poetry, novels, and plays were Aug. Shenoa (St. Genois) (1838–81), Gjouro Arnold (born in 1851), Ksaver Shandor Gjalski, Silviye Kranjevich, Michael Nikolich (born in 1878), M. Begovich ("Xeres de la Maraja"), A. Tresich-Pavitchich, S. de Miletich (born in 1868), Srdjan Toutchich, Ivo Voynovich, Yanko Leskovatz (born in 1861), A. Matosh, etc.

Rad jugoslovenke akademije is the organ of the Yougo-Slovenska Academia (South-Slavonic Academy of Science), founded in 1866, the president of which was for a long time the Croat historian Franyo Ratchki (1825–94). The most renowned Slavonic philologist at present living is the Serbo-Croat Vatroslav Iagich (born in 1838), editor of the "Archives for Slawische Philologie." He long occupied the chair of Slavonic Philology at the universities of Vienna and Berlin. He is renowned for his researches in philology, archæology, and literature.

Belonging also to the same group are the historian Shima Lyubich (1822–96), Vyekoslav Klaich, who wrote a "History of the Croats" (1898), and the encyclopædist Boguslav Shoulek (1816–95). Literary researches have been made by A. Pavich, Peter Matkovich, Lyudevit Voukotinovich, etc.; researches in ethnography and language by Franyo Kourelatz (1811–74).

In Dalmatia were the patriotic and historic writers, Knez Medo Poutchich (1821–82), Anton Kazali (1815–94), and Yovan Soundetchich (1825–1900), and the dramatist Matya Ban (1818–1903), whose works still being played are "Meryima" and "Tzar Lazar." At Ragusa a literary paper is published called the *Slovinac*. The newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals published in Serbo-Croat are too numerous to chronicle.

5. THE SERVIAN AND CROAT POPULAR EPIC AND LYRIC POETRY

The greatest poetic treasure of the Servian people is found in those epic songs and popular lyrics, tales, and sayings which, unwritten during centuries, were handed down from father to son, from mother to daughter. Goethe has compared the great cycles of these Servian epics to the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey." Some of the epic songs date from before the Turkish invasion. They are naïve, full of rough force mingled with homeliness, Oriental fire, and a Greek plastic quality. Some show traces of the old Servian mythology. Others, especially the great epics, belong to the period of invasion, when Adrianople was the Sultan's Capital. Still others are more modern, and even to-day such epics and songs are composed on events of the time, both grave and gay, by unknown bards of the people.

The heroic epics gather principally around the battle on Kossovo field and the last of the Servian Tsars, Lazar Hrebelianovich, and the personality and knightly exploits of Marko Kralyevich. These two cycles are complete. There are also fragments of series of songs on Doushan the Emperor, Milosh Obilich, hero of Kossovo, and many other heroes, Servian rulers, and historic events dear to the memory of the people. All of the Servian risings and the prowess of the Haydouks have been chronicled and chanted in song,—ever and ever resung.

The Servian epics are always chanted, accom-

panied by the Gouzla. They are recitatives in rhythmic declamation; the *motif* of the melody suggested is fragmentary and runs within three or four notes. Each note is divided into fractions of tones, fixed in the execution and learned by ear, which cannot be transcribed on the modern musical staff. The cadences are grave and evocative, droning, yet vibrating as if on human heartstrings. The Servian heroic epics have a verse-line of ten syllables with the cæsura after the fourth syllable, the line being without any fixed fall or tonality. O. Hauser says that the verse form of the Servian epic is very nearly related to the verse-line called the "Spentamanyu" line of the "Avesta" ("Zend)" of the Old Persians. The epics of the Croats deal with the same historical subjects and episodes as do those of the Servians, but there is a slight difference in the verse-line, which has fifteen syllables, with the cæsura after the seventh, and often has a refrain. The Croatian epic was rich in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but is now entirely disappearing.

When Karadjich first collected and printed the cyclus entitled, in his first edition (in 1818), "Lazaritza," he wrote: "The bards who sang these rhapsodies called them the 'Songs of Knez Lazar, or the Battle of Kossovo.' Later they were published under the title of 'Cyclus of the Battle of Kossovo.'"

In Stoyan Novakovich's edition, in which he aims at exactitude of ancient form, the songs are:

I. Knez Lazar Builds His Memorial Church at Ravanitza.

II. The Turks on Kossovo Plain.
III. Sultan Mourad Sends His Challenge to Tsar Lazar.
IV. Tsarina Militza Asks of Tsar Lazar that One of Her Brothers Should Remain with Her at Kroushevatz.
V. Tsar Lazar Chooses the Heavenly Kingdom.
VI. The Maiden of Kossovo and the Servian Heroes.
VII. Milosh Obilich Inquires His Way to the Turkish Camp.
VIII. The Quarrel between Milosh Obilich and Vouk Brankovich.
IX. The Battle of Kossovo.
X. Stephan Vassoyevich.
XI. News from the Battle of Kossovo.
XII. The Maiden of Kossovo.
XIII. The Death of the Yougoviches' Mother.
XIV. Sanctification of Tsar Lazar.

The following are literal translations rendering the verse-line of ten syllables as well as possible of songs V and XIII:

Song V

TSAR LAZAR CHOOSES THE HEAVENLY KINGDOM

The original begins:

"Poletio soko titsa siva
"Od svetinye od Yerusalima
"I on nosi titsu lastavitsu
"To ne bio soko titsa siva"
. . . . . .

Flying comes a gray-like bird, a falcon,
From the Holy City, Jerusalem,
And a little swallow seems to carry—
—No, 'tis not a gray bird, not the falcon,
But it is the Holy Saint Elijah
And no little swallow is he bringing,
But a letter from God's Blessed Mother,
He bears it to the Tsar on Kossovo,
And on his knees the letter he lets drop,
The missive of itself began to speak:
"O Tsar Lazar, thou of glorious line,
"Between two Empires which one wilt thou choose?
"Dost thou desire the Kingdom most of God?
"Or dost thou choose the Empire of this World?
"If the earthly Empire most thou lovest,
"Saddle the horses! tighten well the girths!
"And forthwith let thy knights their swords gird on.
"Then forward! Storm the Turks, make your assault!
"The Turkish army all, shall be brought low.
"But if the Heav'nly Kingdom thou dost choose,
"Then fashion thou a Church on Kossovo,
"Not of marble its foundations tracing,
"Only, of purest silk and scarlet build;
"There eat Christ's Bread, thy warriors prepare,
"For thy whole army will destruction find,
"And thou, too, Prince,—with it, thou wilt perish."

And when the Tsar had listened to those words,
The Tsar the question ponders o'er and o'er:
"Dear God, what shall I answer, how decide?
"Upon which Kingdom shall I set my choice—
"Shall I most desire the Heavn'ly Kingdom?
"Or, shall I choose an Empire of this world?
"If that I, in choosing either Kingdom,
"Should earthly Empire above all, desire—
"The earthly Kingdom is a little thing;
"—God's Kingdom is forever and for aye."

The Tsar will'd for the Kingdom of the Lord,
Rather than the Crown of worldly Empire.
Then on Kossovo a Church he fashioned,
Not of Marble did he lay its stones,
But of finest silk and scarlet built it.
Then he called the Patriarch of Servians,
And twelve great Bishops thither brought,
The knightly ranks receive the Sacred Host,
And hold them ready to await the Turks.

Of this song the famous Polish poet Adam Mitskiyevich said, in February, 1841, in a lecture to the Collège de France on the subject of the Servian cyclus of rhapsodies: "The Christian idea was never in verse expressed so beautifully and directly, yet with its full mysticism, as in this song."

Song XIII

The Death of the Yougoviches' Mother

The original begins:

Mili Bozhe Tchouda velikoga
Kad se slezhe na Kosovo voyska
Ou toye voystsi devet Yougovicha
I deseti star Youzhe Bogdane
Boga moli Yougovicha mayka
Da yoy Bog da otchi sokolove
. . . . . .

God adored! What a mighty wonder—
When the army on Kossovo gathered!
In that army, nine were sons of Yougo,
And tenth was old Bogdan, great Youg Bogdan.
The Yougoviches' mother prayed of God,

That the eyes of falcons' God would give her,
And white wings of the swan, she prayed He'd give,
That she might fly to far Kossovo Plain,
And might see there the nine Yougoviches
With them, the tenth, the great old Youg Bogdan.

What the mother prayed for, that God gave her:
Eyes of the falcon, He did give to her,
And to her gave, the white wings of the swan.
She flies away to far Kossovo Plain.

Dead, she finds, there, the Yougoviches nine,
And tenth of them, old Youg Bogdan lay dead!
Above them stood, nine spears of warriors;
On the spears, there were nine falcons sitting;
Round about the spears, were nine fine horses,
And close to these, there stay'd fierce lions nine.
The nine war-steeds, they then began to neigh,
The fearsome lions nine, to snarl and roar,
While the falcons, all the nine were screaming.
But that mother's heart set hard like stone,
And from that heart no tear fell down.

Instead, she takes the nine good horses there,
The nine grim lions too, she takes with her,
Along with them she takes the falcons nine,
And to her Castel white, she then goes back.

Her sons' dear wives espy her from afar,
And hasten forth to meet her on the way.
Those widowed nine bewept and wailed their dead,
Nine children, fatherless, did cry and sob.

. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

But even there, the mother's heart was hard,
So hard that heart, that from it no tear fell.
When darkness came, and when it was midnight,

Damian's white horse, restive grew and neighed,
The mother asks of Damian's love bereaved,
"O love of my dear Damian, daughter mine,
"Why does Damian's white horse neigh so to us?
"Is he hungry to be fed with white wheat,
"Or does he thirst to drink of Svetchan's spring?"
The wife beloved of Damian answered her,
"Mother of Damian, mother of mine,
"He is not hungry for the wheat so white,
"Neither thirsts for water of Svetchan's spring,
"For well his master, Damian, taught him,
"To eat his oats till midnight, and munch fine,
"Then half the night to travel on the road.
"He now is grieving for that master dear,
"That on his back he brought him not again."
But the mother's heart was still like stone,
And from that heart so dry no tear did drip.

When it was light, the hour of new-born day,
Two vultures come a-flying, raven black,
With blood they're smear'd from shoulder unto wing,
Their beaks are white with foam of battening:
They carry a dead hand, a hero's hand,
And on that hand there glows a wedding-ring.
Into the mother's lap they throw it.
The Yougoviches' mother lifts the hand,
Turns and turns it, over and over again,
Then, beck'ning, says to Damian's widowed love:
"Daughter mine, beloved of Damian,
"Wouldst thou know to say whose hand is this?
"—O mother mine, mother of Damian,
"Yon is the hand of our own Damian!
"That marriage-ring I know full well, mother,
"That ring was with me on my wedding-day!"

Then Damian's mother takes the hand up,
Turns it over, strokes it, and plays with it—
Whisp'ring to the hand, she stammers starkly:

"—My hand—my dear, dear hand—my green apple!
"Where didst thou grow—and where hast thou been plucked?
"Here in my lap—'tis here—that thou didst grow!
"Torn from the tree wert thou—on Kossovo!"
That sob of death, lightly her soul set free.

This poem is not only a song of the human heart, but is also considered to be an allegory of the nine Nemanya Kings—their mother, the old Servian Kingdom.

Philip Vishnyich, a blind "Gouzlar" or bard, born in Bosnia in 1767, possessed a phenomenal memory in which he stored, as in a library, the whole mass of the old Servian epics, ballads, and people's songs. When the insurrection of 1804 broke out he left Bosnia and came to Servia and sang in the camps of the Servian soldiers. He was the poetic embodiment of those wars. He himself composed, inspirationally in the camps, chanting it as he then created it from the fire of the Servian soul, the finest modern Servian epic. Afterward, when the day was won, the first work to issue from the Belgrade printing-press was that battle-poem of the "Revolt."

Vouk Karadjich and Sima Miloutinovich were among those who listened to the blind singer around the bivouac fires, and were deeply stirred to action and resolve which later bore immortal fruit to the nation.

The lyrics, as melodies accompanied by words or dancing or by words and dancing, are found among Servians not only in the villages but in the towns.

Some of these are so old that their first singers are unknown. There are new ones which spring up like the wild flowers of the field—sown by the wind or an unknown hand—coming from nobody can say where. The lyrics are love songs and women's songs, the latter mostly composed by women and girls. There are also drinking songs and chants of marriage, birth, and death, cremonials and merry-making. The verse-metre of these lyrics is generally trochaee and dactyls.

Following is a drinking song from the Shumadia;

Soko leti visoko
Shiri krila shiroko
Trazhi lozu vinovu
Trazhi vodu studenu
Devoyka ga doziva
Od' ovamo, sokole
Evo loze vinove
Evo vode studene
Studena ye ka i led
A slatka ye ka i med
Peeye brate peeye
Veseli smo svi.

Literally translated in the measure of the original:

High the falcon flies in air,
Stretches wide his planing wings,
Seeks the vine with grapes for wine,
Seeks the icy water-springs.
Him the maiden beckons near,
"Hither, falcon, come to me!
"Here's the vine where wine-grapes grow!
"Here is water cool and clear,

"Fresh it is and cold as snow,
"The grapes are sweet as honey!
"Drink! brother, drink!
"Gay all are we!"

An Elegy

A Woman's Song from South-western Servia

The original begins:

Shto Morava moutna tetche?
Da li Pasha konye poyie,
Il' Pashina voyska brodi?

Why does Morava flow troubled?
Do the Pasha's horses drink there,
Or the Pasha's soldiers cross it?
Neither Pasha's horses drink there,
Nor the Pasha's soldiers cross it,
But two sisters bathing in it,
Olivera and Todora,
In the waves Todora perished,
Olivera gained the shore.

Spoke the dead face of the maiden,
"Olivera, O my sister.
"When thou goest to our mother,
"Tell not thou that mother sad,
"That the waves have closed above me,
"Say to her that I am married.
"'Tween two hills, my groomsmen, am I,
"'Tween two forests, my bridesmaidens,
"And a marble stone, my bridegroom,
"Little grass my lover's sister,
"And for mother-in-law, the sod."

The first collection of the popular poetry made by Vouk Stephanovich Karadjich, "Srpske narodne pyesme," was translated into many foreign languages—German, French, English, and Russian. In a second volume he published the lyrics and women's songs, "Srpske narodne pyesme iz Hercegovine" (new edition, 1891–1902, two volumes, Belgrade).

The songs of the Bosnians were published by Bogolyub Petranovich, Belgrade, 1867–70, and Serayevo, 1867; also by Ristich in 1873. Raditchevich, in 1872, published the Montenegrin songs. The Servian fairy tales were published by Karadjich, at Vienna, in 1870, and were republished at Belgrade in 1897, the second volume, "Poslovice" ("sayings"), in 1900.

The Croat epics were published by Miklosich in "Beitrage zur Kenntniss der Slavischen Volks poesie," Vol. I, and in "Volks Epos der Kroaten," Vienna, 1870. A complete edition was made by Bogishich, "Narodne pyesme iz stariyih zapisa," Belgrade, 1878; also by the "Matitza Hrvatska," at Zagreb, 1896–99, in four volumes.

Koukoulyevich published the folk songs of the Kajkavci in the fourth volume of "Razlitchna djela," Zagreb, 1847. A collection of fairy tales was published by M. Valyevatz, at Varasdin, in 1858, and by Kourelatz, at Zagreb, in 1871.

6. THE FINE ARTS

Students of the early Servian periods, Karitch among others, have found that the arts and learning in Servia prior to the Turkish invasion in no way ranked

below those of Western Europe and Constantinople. As with learning, so was it true of the arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting, that they came into Servia with Christianity through the door of Byzance. Those arts were no longer a living force at Constantinople, but were rather formulas of past attainment, treasured by the few, a sealed book to the vulgar.

The oldest remains of Servian art date back no further than the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Architecture

The Servian mediæval architectural monuments, judged by the few surviving remains, show an interpretation of Byzantine style lofty in ideal and elegant in construction. The characteristic design of a large central cupola supported by four smaller ones is often found in Servian churches of the period, whose exteriors use vari-coloured marbles and stones sometimes with brick, and the interiors, mural decorations of painting and mosaic, in the best Byzantine manner. Besides the constructions in pure Byzantine style, there are others modified by the introduction of original Servian ideas, which seek inspiration from the West as well as from the East. In some cases the Servians based their art solely on western models, which they developed with individual taste. The finest architectural remains exemplifying both or either of these manners are the church and monastery of Detchani, built by King Stephan Detchanski; the church and monastery of Studenitza, erected by Stephan Nemanya; the Saint Lazar Church at

Kroushevatz, built by Tsar Lazar; the church and monastery of Lyoubostinya, built by Tsarina Militza; and the castle and the church of Manassia, built by Despot Stephan Lazarovich. The architect of some of these beautiful churches was Rade Borovich, whose memory is honoured in many folk songs.

The castles and fortresses were constructed on the Byzantine system of towers connected by walls. One or sometimes two of these towers were higher than the others, and within the walls was a second building with towers and walls similar to the French "Donjon" (the place of last defence). The castles of the nobles, some of which remain inhabited in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Albania, all exhibit the same main characteristics. Enclosing an inner court is an unbroken wall of buildings with a large and high tower at the place of entrance. This plan is followed in principle in the architecture of many monasteries, with the church in the court. Such are the monasteries of Mount Athos and Studenitza. Manassia is a true castle, with towers and walls enclosing the church.

In the building of other public works—bridges, roads, etc., some of which are still in good use, the Serbs followed the methods and construction which they found in the early Roman remains.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century the architecture was unfortunately an imported bastard renaissance of the ugliest type. At present a new generation of architects who have studied in the great art centres of the world have submitted plans for public buildings, of beautiful and original design,

suggestive of a development of mediæval Servian architecture.

Sculpture

The Byzantine style as used in the churches by the Orthodox Church admitted no statues. No free scope or inspiration, therefore, was offered to the sculptor such as brought forth the wonders in marble of the Phidian period in Greece. The Servian sculptors, however, studied in Italy, and many of them, in the decorations on the Servian churches and monasteries, broke loose from strict Byzantine tradition and wrought many beautiful conceptions in high and low relief, which they used in representing saints and heraldic and symbolic animals, especially over the doors and windows. The finest examples of this are in Saint Lazar's Church at Kroushevatz, Studenitza, and the monastery of Kalenitch. In Ragusa and along the eastern shores and islands of the Adriatic, where the Latin Church prevailed, there are very beautiful sculptural remains.

Modern Servian sculpture is showing development in some good works. Those of Paya Iovanovich exhibited in Paris salons have won prizes. Other young sculptors are beginning to attract serious attention in Paris, Rome, and London, where works of S. Roksandich and George Iovanovich have received high praise.

Painting

The old Servian painting was bound under Byzantine traditions. Nevertheless, there are some

portraits of rulers and other individuals painted in the churches which show character in expression and evident truth to life. Many others follow Byzantine methods. A great place belongs to all these painters, among Old Servian artists, who painted in Venice, Florence, and other parts of Italy, many of whose names, from Carpaccio to the modest painters who were content to sign their works simply "Schiavone" (the Slav), make part of the glory of the Italian Renascence.

The foremost among modern Servian painters is Paya Iovanovich (see frontispiece), Voukanovich, Krstich Markovich, Todorovich, Milovanovich, Murat, Predich, Knezhevich Potchek, Tchobayitch and Lallich, have also won recognition. Danilovatz is the best known among engravers and etchers. These artists were born in the different regions of the Serb Block, and have like most other modern painters gone for technique to Paris, though in the subjects they have painted they have generally sought inspiration in their own national history or in scenes in their own lands.

7. MUSIC AND THE DRAMA

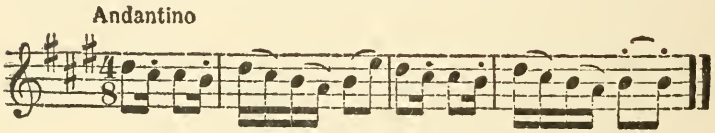
All that remains of old Servian music is found in the Servianised church music and that of the old folk songs. The musician, Cornelius Stankovich, collected and transcribed in the modern musical staff that old church music and the people's melodies.

The melodies of the love songs are of slow and languorous rhythm, the notes not exceeding an octave. They can be written on the modern musical staff.

"Savila se grana yorgovana"—"The lilac branch was bending":

"Sva se livada travom niyala"—"The meadow grass was swaying":

"Viyor dolom douye"—



"Oy devoyko devoyko"—"Maiden, O maiden":

"Tri sou seye zbor zborile"—"Three sisters held converse together":

"I titchitza sanka ima"—"E'en the little bird sleeps":

The opening and the cadence of these songs are generally characteristic. When rendered in modern

harmony they are either in suspense or half finished. Songs sung on joyous occasions, such as marriages and festivals, and drinking songs follow the mood of the moment.

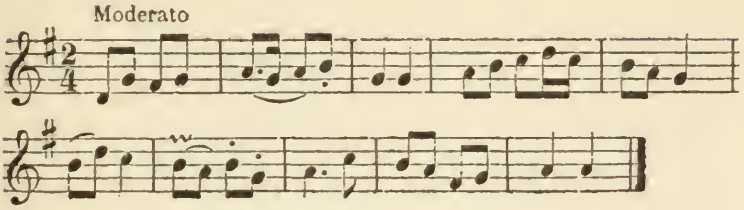
"Daï da piyemo"—"Let us drink":

In the dancing songs words and notes sharply accentuate the rhythm. Especially is this true of the "poskotchitze," which being spontaneous, in the height of fun are sometimes more than saucy. The heroic songs are sung by grown-up men only, the lyrics by men and women, the "poskotchitze" only by young men in the quick Kolo dances.

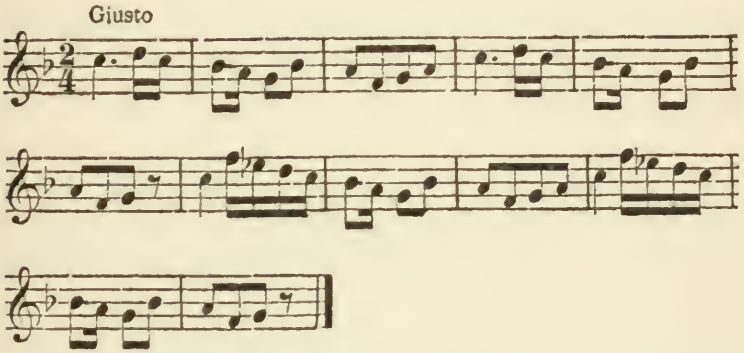
The lyric songs are generally sung by a group of persons together; certain of the Kolo songs are sung by the girls and women as they dance; some women's songs are sung in strophe and anti-strophe by different voices. The singing is generally in unison, except in some districts where there are two parts sung, one as a leading voice, the other as support.

The dance music is played or played and sung in all tempos, from *vivace* to *andante:*

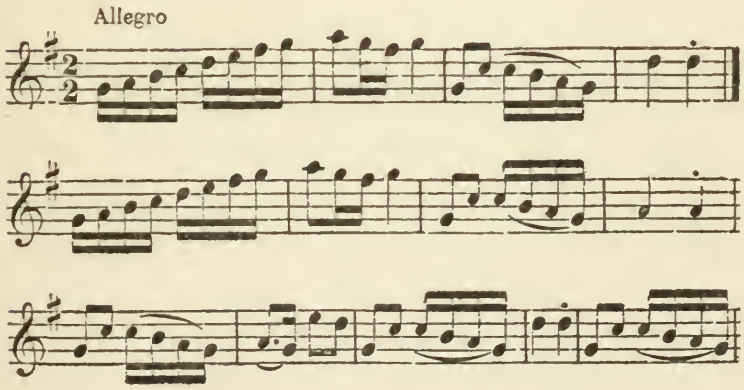
"Neda grivnu izgoubila"—"Nedda has lost her bangle":



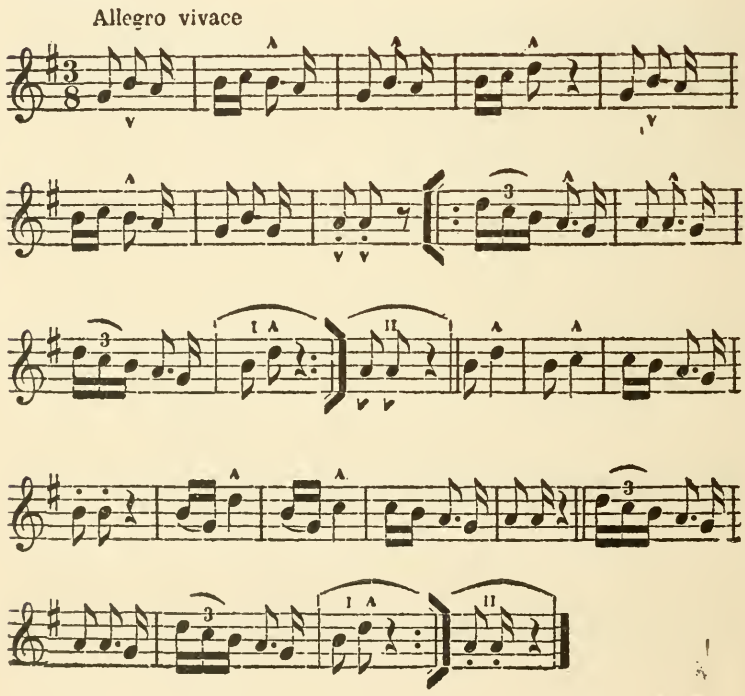
"Srbiyanka":



"Koritarka":

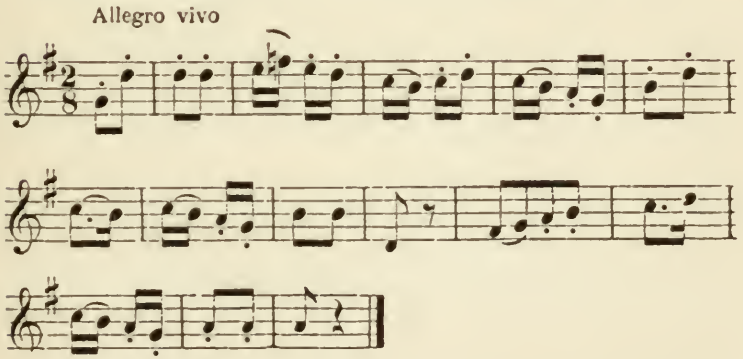


"Gjurgjevka":

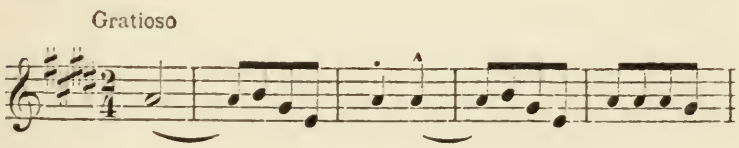


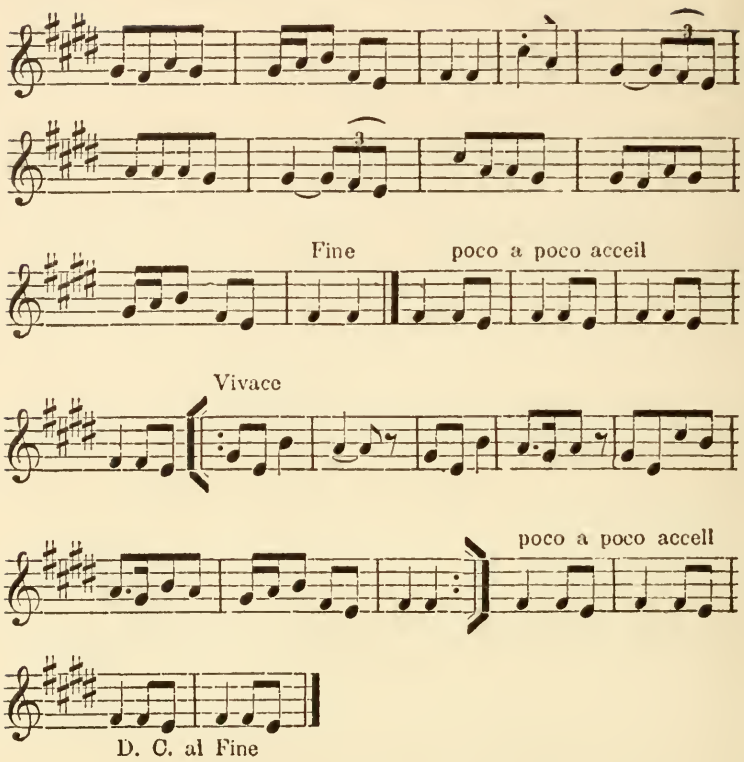
"Yelke tamnitcharke":

"Oustaï diko zora ye!"—"Get up dear, 'tis day!"



"Nishevlanka Kolo" is remarkable in that, although one of the oldest dance tunes, it resembles a modern tune in structure:

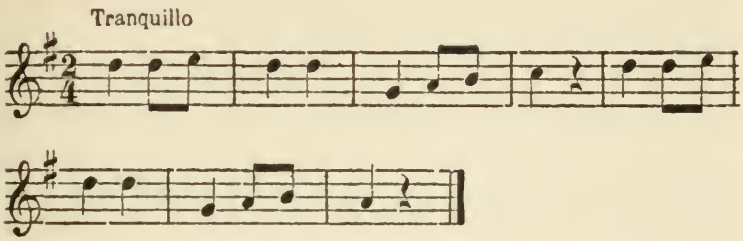




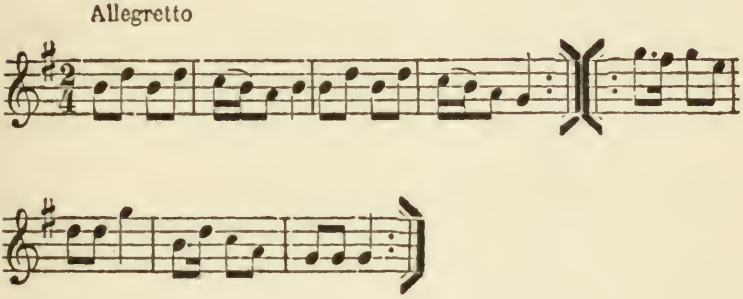
The following dances are played, sung, danced, and acted at the same time, recalling dances of Greek antiquity:

"Stoyanke stoyano":

"Igralo Kolo":



"Tita tita loboda":



Popular music is a part of life in Serb lands, and there are many singing societies which cultivate the national melodies, bringing them into modern harmony, generally in the form of the quartette. These societies have given a great impulse to modern creative work of an original and national character. Two composers of some merit are Davorin Yenko and Iossip Marinkovich. There are several beautiful compositions to the credit of each. Yenko has composed a light opera, "Vratchar," and the overtures, "Kossovo" and "Tri svetla dana," all with full orchestration. Several young composers are of interesting promise.

The highest class of modern instrumental music at present in Servia is represented only by the regimental bands and the orchestras of the theatres at Belgrade, Novi-Sad, and Zagreb.

Drama

Fragments of old masques or plays, living still to-day in "Koleda," "Dodola," "Kralitze," "Lazaritze," are the survivals of ancient rites from mythological ages. They are declaimed, sung, and chanted with strophe and anti-strophe, postured, mimed, and danced, and contain chief characters and chorus in which there can be traced ancient conceptions of gods and goddesses, heroes and nymphs, expressive not only of nature's forces, but of human and mystic action and the courses of destiny.

The "Vertep" ("Cradle") is an adaptation of this old dramatic expression. At Christmas time little children, decked out as personages of the story, make a tiny cradle, put a doll in it, and carry it through the village, speaking and acting old dialogue appropriate to the occasion.

Manuscripts show that the dramatic art flourished in mediæval Servia. The plays were not like the morality plays, but were actual representations of various parts of sacred story, resembling, so far as can be judged, the Oberammergau Passion Play; and in the fifteenth century, in Ragusa, realistic plays of ordinary life were written and acted. One of these, remembered as a masterpiece, was the "Slave-Girl," by Lutchich.

In the early nineteenth century the dramatic art

was revived by the actor and writer Joachim Vouitch, who organised a company of players which travelled through all Servian lands giving Servian dramas. In 1835—five years after Servia was recognised as independent—his troupe played there at Kragouyevatz. His company and others had an important part in the revival of Servian national life.

The art of the theatre is centred at present in the national theatres at Belgrade, Zagreb, and Novi-Sad. All three of those national theatres are established to develop and promulgate the best that can be produced in the Drama, Comedy, and Opera.

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